University of Alberta

Scoring an Ideological Goal: Manifest Functions and Latent Meanings in Televised Soccer Production

by

Michael Leslie Silk ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Scoring an Ideological Goal: Manifest Functions and Latent Meanings in Televised Soccer Production submitted by Michael Leslie Silk in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Very little is known about the complexities of the televised sport delivery system (Stoddart, 1994). To aid scholarly understanding of televised sport as an everyday practice, a detailed study was conducted on the TSN production of the Canada Cup of Soccer. The labour process was subjected to an intense participant observation and interviews were conducted with the key actors in this production at the site of data collection and at the TSN Head Office in Toronto. These production data were compared with the findings 'off the screen' which were analysed using a 'semiologically-oriented' design (Cantelon, Gruneau & Whitson, 1988). These data were subjected to a critical analysis which drew heavily on cultural studies as a guiding theoretical framework.

The findings and discussion focus on bringing a finer sense of meaning to the manifest function of the televised sport production process. Furthermore, the analysis uncovers key pressures and constraints which operate as context for production but have, to this point, received no scholarly attention. Finally, consideration was given to the latent symbolic meanings resulting from this televised soccer production and the ideological potential of these messages.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 - Background to the Research 2
1.2 - Purpose of the Research 3
1.3 - Contribution to the Literature and Limitations of the Research 5

CHAPTER TWO : REVIEW OF LITERATURE 7
2.1 - The Hegemonic Agenda and Ideology: Everyday Practices and Cultural Experience 8
2.1.1 -Gramsci's Hegemony: Economic Exploitation and Political Domination 9
2.1.2 - Cultural Studies, Antonio Gramsci and New Directions 10
2.1.3 - The Impediments of Imprisonment: A Brief Critique of Antonio Gramsci 10
2.2 - The Construction of Meaning: Cultural Studies and the Media 12
2.2.1 - The Production (Encoding) 12
2.2.2 - The Audience (Decoding) 13
2.2.3 - A Critical Political Economy of the Mass Media 16
2.3 - Towards a Revised Theoretical Framework: Hegemony and Hyperreality . 17
2.4 - Textual Perspectives: Off the Screen Readings and Their Speculative Contexts 19
2.5 - Selection and Representation: "Good Television" and It's Symbolic Content 21
2.5.1 - Production Practices 23
2.6 - A Symbiotic Relationship?: The Development of the Audience Commodity 29
2.7 - Creating a Show: Satisfying the Economic Forces Impinging on Production of Televised Sport 32
2.8 - The Global Village and Its Role in Televised Sport Production 34

2.9 - Codes of Practice and Institutional Procedures. (Sub)conscious Homogenisation of Televised Sport Delivery Systems 37
2.10 - The Role Attributed to Human Agency in Televised Sport Production . . 40
2.11 - Research Questions 41

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS UTILISED TO ANSWER THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS POSED 45
3.1 - The Production of the Canada Cup of Soccer and the Context of the Broadcast 45
3.2 - Analysis of the TSN telecasts of the Canada Cup of Soccer 48

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESEARCH SETTING AND THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF PRODUCTION 51
4.1 - The Research Setting 51
    4.1.1 - The Crew 51
    4.1.2 - The Production Truck 51
    4.1.3 - Outside Areas 52
4.2 - The General Conventions of Production 53
    4.2.1 - Non-Game Segments. 56
    4.2.2 - Game Segments - Bread, Butter and Gravy 58

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 61
PART ONE: THE MANIFEST FUNCTION OF THE TSN PRODUCTION TEAM AT THE CANADA CUP OF SOCCER 61
5.1 - Story Lines: Scripting the Unscripted 62
5.2 - Televised Sport as Entertainment: "It's not just TV you know, it's entertainment" 65
5.3 - Selling Beer, Soap and Cars: The Bottom Line in Televised Sport 68

5.4 - Bells and Whistles: Economic Constraints and Opportunities in the Canada Cup of Soccer Broadcasts . . . 68
5.5 - The TSN Viewer: "Go, Go, Go and All Those Flashes" . . . 72
5.6 - Symbolism, Social Engineering and Craft Pride: It's Nothing Unless It Translates Into Good Television . . . 77

PART TWO: PRESSURES IMPINGING ON THE CANADA CUP PRODUCTION . . . 80
5.7 - The Bumpy Route to the World Cup: The Historical and Political Context of TSN Soccer Coverage . . . 80
5.8 - "Its not brain surgery . . . its television": Careers and Philosophies at TSN . . . 83
5.9 - The "Cognitive Televised Sport Community": Interorganizational Pressures On the Canada Cup of Soccer Production . . . 89
5.10 - The Global Village and the Limitations of the World Feed . . . 92

PART THREE: UNCOVERING THE LATENT MEANINGS IN THE CANADA CUP OF SOCCER PRODUCTIONS . . . 95
5.11 - Economic and Political Systems of Domination. . . . 97
5.12 - Individualism: "And it's all down to Peschisolido" . . . 99
5.13 - Respect for Authority: "Who am I to argue with the referee" . . . 101
5.14 - "The Battle of the Titans": Strength, Competitiveness and Gender . . . 104
5.15 - The Classless Environment of Televised Soccer: Restricting the Range of Information . . . 106
5.16 - "Look Out World, Here Comes Canada": Nationalism in the Canada Cup of Soccer . . . 108
5.17 - Manifest and Latent Functions of the Canada Cup of Soccer . . . 111

CHAPTER SIX:CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 113
6.1 - Food for Thought: The Complex Interrelations of the Televised Sport Menu 113
6.2 - Cultural Studies, Critical Political Economy and Hyperreality: Theoretical Development Through Media/Sport Analyses 114
6.3 - A Finer Sense of Meaning to Televised Sport Production 116
6.4 - "I'm Sorry, That's Off the Menu": The Constraints Operating on the Canada Cup of Soccer Broadcasts 117
6.5 - Manifest Functions and Latent Meanings: The Ideological Dimension of Televised Sport 118
6.6 - Implications for Future Study: Bringing an Even Finer Sense of Meaning to Televised Sport 119

REFERENCES 123

APPENDIX A - TSN TEXTUAL ANALYSIS DESCRIPTOR SHEET 133

APPENDIX B - TSN AUDIENCE FIGURES - SOCCER SUMMER 1995 135

APPENDIX C - LIST OF INTERVIEW DATES, TIMES AND LOCATIONS 137

LIST OF TABLES

Table No. **Title** **Page**

Table One: Segment of Shot-by-Shot Analysis - TSN Canada Cup, Game One p.57

Table Two: Segment of Shot-by-Shot Analysis - TSN Canada Cup, Game One p.59

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

> Television is rock and roll (David Hill, Head of Fox Football in Pierce, 1995, p.185).

> For most people, sport will become even more exclusively a television phenomenon than it is today (Pierce, 1995, p.187).

Televised sport has become a spectacle, an entertainment for the masses. It has increasingly come to be seen as part of popular culture; therefore, gaining an understanding of televised sport adds to our comprehension of the culture in which we live (Whannel, 1989a). Gruneau (1989a), drawing upon the work of Roland Barthes, stated that the primary aim of critical sport sociology is to uncover the ideological functions of everyday practices. Televised sport production is one such everyday practice. Gruneau (1989a) further deemed that televised sport can define and reinforce images which relate to the capacity of the dominant group to reproduce their culture and the conditions of their cultural dominance. Whannel (1983) claimed that this offers the viewer a way of seeing the world, which not only reinforces capitalism but makes our *very specific form of social organization seem natural and inevitable* (emphasis added). The current research attempts to explicate Barthes view of critical sport sociology through the realm of televised sport. That is, to try and uncover the ideological functions of an industry which is becoming increasingly more entertainment oriented and is reaching more and more viewers all over the world. Indeed, it can be stated that television is now the primary medium for disseminating ideas about sport as a form of popular culture. The medium has brought its established codes and conventions to sport and superimposed them on the cultural form (Blain, Boyle & O'Donnell, 1993). In short, sport on television must offer entertainment and above all, provide television producers with what they perceive as good television (Whannel, 1992).

1.1 - Background to the Research

In conducting a 10 year review of the literature, Maguire (1993) was struck by the extent to which critical approaches to the study of the sport media have gained ground at the expense of more empirical accounts. It is this lack of empirical research which is part of the driving force behind this thesis. In late 1993, I studied Sky Sport's production of the Football Association Challenge Cup competition (F.A. Cup) soccer matches in England (Silk, 1994). When I compared these observations with the mainstream literature, it struck me how little was known about the production of sport for television. Brian Stoddart (1994) professed that much of what has been written in the mainstream televised sport literature is based on a narrow understanding of how the images and discourse which go to broadcast are constructed. Stoddart (1994) conducted an ethnography of televised golf production, stating that very little is known in the mainstream literature about the complexities of the television sport delivery system. The only other study to empirically examine the production of televised sport was conducted by Gruneau (1989b). Gruneau suggested that because of the lack of knowledge about the actual labour process of televised sport much of what is written about this medium is speculative. Due to this lack of empirical data, Stoddart (1994) concluded that the production process of televised sport be subjected to close analysis in different cultural settings. The same author also proposed that different sports be analysed because of the mainstream literature's tendency to homogenize sport. Therefore, this research subjects the production process of televised soccer to a critical empirical analysis in a different cultural setting and covers a different sport than those in the studies of Gruneau (1989a) and Stoddart (1994), who covered downhill skiing and golf respectively.

Televised sport is operating in an increasingly global context. One just has to look at the empire owned by Rupert Murdoch and his recent acquisitions in North America, Asia and Europe to add weight to this argument. It is possible to turn on a television set anywhere in the world and see Steve Young throw the winning Suberbowl pass, hear Don Cherry criticize the European players in the NHL or listen to John Motson or Martin Tyler analyzing Newcastle's bid for the Premier League soccer championship. One of the major implications of the new audience conditions is the problem of empirically assessing the relationship that the global viewer has with the product. This new global context does provide some exciting avenues for production research. Particularly relevant for the current research is the effect this global context and the new audience conditions have on the actual production of televised sport.

This global context of televised sport *production* has not been subjected to scholarly analysis. Highly interrelated to this global context is another area which has not received attention, even in Gruneau's (1989b) and Stoddart's (1994) studies of production: "Industrial wisdom" is a term used in organizational sociology and psychology which refers to a perceived "correct" way of doing something. Hence, in televised sport this might be the correct way to cover a hockey game or a soccer game. There has been theoretical work which has discussed codes of production and the like, however, Stoddart's (1994) golf production analysis contended that these ideas suggest considerable human agency for the production team. Once again, this observation provided an impetus for the current study. The global domination of empires such as Rupert Murdoch's, and the similarity of the networks in his empire (Sky, Fox, Star TV) forward notions of homogenisation of sport systems and styles of coverage. Indeed, a personal conversation with David Hill, head of Fox Football, when he was at Sky indicated that there are similarities in sport production and that a network's identity frames the production and direction of a broadcast. Thus these areas, neglected empirically in the mainstream literature, deserve attention in the following pages. That is, I aim to uncover a finer level of meaning than Stoddart (1994) was able to by assessing the role of human agency of the production team.

1.2 - Purpose of the Research

There are many different cultural contexts in which sports broadcasts are viewed. However, they are produced in one culture. Whether or not the team produces the broadcast for the domestic or the global viewer is a point to be determined, partly through initial investigation in this research. Therefore, a focus of this study has to be the meaning of the sport under investigation, soccer, to the culture in which the production is encoded. That is, as a minority elite sport with a great deal of grass roots participation by both males and females, there are different cultural meanings attached to the sport than say in England where soccer developed as a site where working class masculinities were at stake. Despite recent developments in the game, arguments still exist that soccer is a working class male institution in England (see Murphy, Dunning and Williams, 1990). Therefore, one expects televised soccer production within Canada to reflect the meanings which soccer holds in the culture in which it is produced.

This cultural production relates to the theoretical framework which is guiding this thesis. That is a revised British cultural studies framework in which ideology is seen as a situation in which everyday practices are taken for granted and appear natural and consistent with cultural experience. This is a two way process, for if sport on television did not reflect cultural values, then would the domestic audience watch it? However, using cultural studies as a theoretical framework is not without problems. Gramsci's (1971) formulation of hegemony is at times unclear and scholars in sport sociology appear to have only a partial grasp of the theories complexity. Further, cultural studies fails to take into account how economic organization impinges upon the production and circulation of meaning and at times is said to overemphasize the sovereignty of the consumer. Therefore, rather than relying solely on cultural studies, I draw upon other theoretical frameworks when I think they have utility in explaining televised sport production. Indeed, Meehan (1994) strongly recommended that to adequately theorize television production we are required to integrate the theoretical approaches of cultural studies, critical political economy and some notions of postmodernism which would allow us to fully accommodate notions of human creativity (agency), class struggle, ideology and impersonal social structures. Again, there has been no empirical work on televised sport production which has taken this approach.

It is this lack of empirical work and misunderstandings of the actual production of televised sport which provided the *purpose* for the study. My observations from Sky, the theoretical framework developed and my readings of the mainstream literature sparked a number of related ideas which were explored in the following study. I gained access to all areas of The Sport Network's (TSN) production of the Canada Cup of Soccer in May 1995. Following Gruneau (1989b) and Stoddart (1994) my purpose was to bring a finer sense of meaning to the *production* of televised sport through detailed observations and interviews. Further, I extended these ground-breaking studies by considering new lines of inquiry, specifically the pressures on the production team which have not yet received empirical or theoretical consideration. This analysis was then compared with a semiologically oriented examination of the text to uncover the latent symbolic meanings produced. My interpretations of the text are appropriate given the goals of the study. Only audience studies can *actually* assess how viewers interpret texts. Studies like this one may suggest plausible interpretations of texts and offer compelling ways of thinking about social phenomena (Duncan, 1994). From these interpretations I speculate concerning the *ideological potential* of the (symbolic) messages.

1.3 - Contribution to the Literature and Limitations of the Research

This case study of a televised soccer production can contribute to the literature in the following ways. Empirical work is needed which can assess the fast changing world of sport delivery in the new global and audience conditions. Specifically, scholars need to be informed of the pressures which these contexts place upon the production thus providing comparison to previous empirical work. Theoretical developments, such as those advanced by Meehan (1994), even those seminal works in the media field such as Hall (1980) have been criticised for not being empirically tested. Thus, through a study of televised sport production I tested some of these theoretical propositions.

No study is without its limitations, and the current research is no exception. The thesis is not as comprehensive as I would have liked. First, it would have been beneficial to spend the whole summer with the production crew to determine whether the Canada Cup was unique or representative of typical soccer broadcasts. However, the experience of observing production at Sky Sports has at least made me aware of my role and the array of information presented. A second limitation of the study was the lack of empirical investigation of the audience. I contend that the production, contexts of production, the text and the audience are mutually interacting components of the whole televised sport process. While I refer to a part of the audience model, that of the dialogue between the production, popular culture and the audience, I did not support my contentions with an ethnography of the audience of the Canada Cup of Soccer on TSN. This shortcoming is partially offset by the contention that the audience is fragmented and global, thus making the viewer difficult to empiricize.

In summary, past experiences and a dissatisfaction with the mainstream literature provided the impetus for the current study. Before commenting on the methods used to answer the research questions and a critical discussion of the results of this study, I provide a detailed review of the literature that underpins the study and raises specific research questions.

CHAPTER TWO : REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Hargreaves (1986) noted there is a paucity of firm, well-grounded conclusions in research on the effects of mass communication. Thus, caution is advised when interpreting the relation between sport, culture and the effects of television. Indeed, there has been a reliance upon a textual perspective as a tool for understanding the whole process of cultural dominance which has lead to limited conclusions. Murdock and Golding (1991) explained the determining pressures underlying the construction of what is finally presented to audiences cannot be simply read from the content. Recently researchers have realized that televised sport is a process in which the interrelated components of production (its context), the text and the audience can add meaning to and make sense of each aspect of the process (c.f. Gruneau, 1989b; Lindlof, 1991; Morley, 1992; Moores, 1992; Stoddart, 1994). It appears the view that televised sport can define and reinforce capitalism and make this social and economic organization seem natural and inevitable (Gruneau, 1989a; Whannel, 1983) needs validating.

The following review serves as background to the current thesis in that it critically examines the literature which has informed the area of media, sport and cultural studies. I outline how these studies have been severely limited from a textual perspective. Further, I reason that the focus on this type of 'screen reading' has lead to some highly contentious speculations regarding the actual production of televised sport and their ideological functions. While not definitive, textual perspective studies and those whose focus has been on the labour process of production, have highlighted this ideological dimension of the televised sport messages. It is these ideological and hegemonic dimensions of televised sport that form the core of the literature review.

In an attempt to fill the lacuna in the literature, Stoddart (1994) and Gruneau (1989b) analysed the actual production process of sport for television. Their seminal works are examined to determine the implications for studying a televised sport production. In addition, an analysis of the production of F.A. Cup soccer for Sky Sports in

England engendered a number of interesting ideas which may influence the production of sport (Silk, 1994). These areas, some of which have received attention in the mainstream media/sport literature, are considered in this review. These are the areas of "institutional practices," a collective term for the "right way" of implementing industry practices. This convictions is inextricably linked with global pressures upon televised sport and the increasing economic and political pressures currently operating within the televised sport workplace.

2.1 - The Hegemonic Agenda and Ideology: Everyday Practices and Cultural Experience

Cultural studies, as a theoretical tradition, draws upon several strands of sociological thinking. The cooptation of hegemony by cultural studies distinguishes this perspective from economic determinism as it does not reduce analysis to the mode of production. The cultural studies boom has greatly contributed to our understanding of the pivotal position of sport within contemporary culture by uncovering some of the ideological elements of everyday practices. Within cultural studies, ideology is seen as the site of everyday struggle and is reproduced voluntarily (Turner, 1990). It is a situation where "everyday practices are taken for granted and appear natural and consistent with cultural experience" (Young, 1991, p.5). While there are other definitions of ideology, it is this definition of ideology which I favour and use throughout this study. However, cultural studies has been criticised for a neo-Gramscian view which overemphasizes the sovereignty of the consumer thus losing its political impetus and transformative agenda (c.f. Heller, 1990; Maguire, 1993; Storey, 1993). Therefore, there are tensions within cultural studies itself, especially regarding the different perspectives which may be seen to have potential for increasing understanding of a cultural form, such as sport on television. Brief consideration is given to the differing perspectives within critical sociocultural studies, in particular the work of Antonio Gramsci, critical political economy and contemporary postmodern views. This aids in forming the background for the theoretical position which this thesis takes. In addition, this theoretical position is extremely relevant for the methods chosen to empirically examine the questions raised by this review.

2.1.1 -Gramsci's Hegemony: Economic Exploitation and Political Domination

Before looking critically at hegemony and how it has been applied to cultural studies and ultimately media studies, I allude to a brief explanation of the concept. The abandonment of class reductionism demands an increasingly theoretical formalization of Marxist categories. Hegemony, in its typically Gramscian formulation becomes political, intellectual, and moral leadership over allied groups (Mouffe, 1979). The hegemony of a class or faction within the power bloc is not accidental; it is made possible by that unity which is the particular mark of the institutionalized power of the capitalist state. The relation between the capitalist state and dominant classes pushes them toward political unity under the protection of a hegemonic class or faction. This polarizes the specific contradictory interests of the various classes or factions in the power bloc by, "making its own economic interests into political interests and by representing the general common interests of the classes or fractions in the power bloc: this general interest consists of economic exploitation and political domination" (Poulantzas, 1978, p.239).

Gramsci understood that the bourgeoisie had to ensure itself popular support and that the political struggle was far more complex than had ever been thought by those who reduce cultural struggle to the material base, since it did not consist in a simple confrontation between classes but always involved complex relations of forces (Mouffe, 1979). Thus, a hegemonic class is a class that has been able to articulate the interests of other social groups to its own by means of ideological struggle. Obviously the fact of hegemony presupposes that one takes into account the interests and tendencies of the groups over which hegemony will be exercised and it also presupposes a certain equilibrium, that is to say, that the hegemonic groups will make some sacrifices of a corporate nature (Mouffe, 1979). Gramsci insisted on the importance of the material and institutional structure for the elaboration and spreading of ideology. This is made up of different hegemonic mechanisms: schools, churches, and of particular relevance for this research, the media.

2.1.2 - Cultural Studies, Antonio Gramsci and New Directions

Hegemony made its decisive appearance in the field of critical sport studies some thirty years after cultural studies first burst onto the scene (Morgan, 1994a). The chief progenitors of hegemony sport theory have been found at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, and first appeared in their sport media studies in the work of Chas Critcher (1974), Roger Peters (1976) and Stuart Hall (1978; 1980). The brief overview of Gramsci's formulation above shows how the CCCS has rejected the Althusserian brand of Marxist thought due to its underplaying of the determinate power of human agency. Rather, the material base is reconstituted as one that regards any and all ways that human beings produce the conditions of their life as belonging to the productive forces of society (Morgan, 1994a). Therefore, hegemonic analyses of agency in sport, and in this case in the production and reception of sports broadcasts, focus on (social) groups and classes and on individual action as it is framed by such social formations. More particularly, it studies collective human agency in terms of "relational" features of social class, which refer to the relative capacity of social groups to deploy rules, resources and traditions in ways that further their particular interests (Morgan, 1994b). The issue centres around control: what social group(s) has shaped and structured sport into modern institutionalised forms and what is the meaning of this shaping and structuring for the production and reproduction of the social relations of capitalism (Morgan, 1994b). Thus, in televised sport, the issue of control and ownership of the media must be examined. Further, the effect on production emanating from this control and ownership (and here I mean direct control and control by external factors such as governmental policies) has to be taken into account to help us understand how this affects the meaning inherent within the television text, which may shape and structure the social relations of capitalism.

2.1.3 - The Impediments of Imprisonment: A Brief Critique of Antonio Gramsci

Morgan (1994a/b) clearly demonstrated that the work of Antonio Gramsci is not at all clear. Further, hegemonic "theory" has often been misused or only partially taken into account when used in critical sport studies (Morgan, 1994a). Therefore, the work of Antonio Gramsci has to be placed in context. The texts he produced are obscure and difficult to read and the contradictions of the texts can be said to be a reflection of the impediments of his imprisonment. He wrote his texts in code under the scrutiny of censors, therefore the concepts are sometimes confused. Indeed, no Marxist work is as difficult to read accurately and systematically, because of the peculiar conditions of its composition (Anderson, 1977). The result is a work censored twice over: its spaces, ellipses, contradictions, disorders, allusions, repetitions are the result of this uniquely adverse process of composition. Further, throughout Gramsci's main works, The Prison Notebooks (1971), the term hegemony recurs in a multitude of different contexts, which tends to blur the distinction between hegemony and domination and is unclear about where hegemony takes place.

Anderson (1977) outlined how the term originated in Russia as a way to define the relationship between the proletariat and peasantry in a bourgeois revolution and was transferred by Gramsci to describe the relationship between the bourgeoisie and proletariat in the consolidated capitalist order in Western Europe. The Russian formulation was an alliance between non-antagonistic classes. However, the relationship between bourgeoisie and proletariat in Western Europe, was a conflict between antagonistic classes, founded on two adversary modes of production. In other words, capitalist rule in the West necessarily comprised coercion as well as consent. Gramsci's awareness of this is shown in the Prison Notebooks (1971), but his works were unsuccessful in locating definitely or precisely either the position or the interconnection of repression and ideology within the power structure of advanced capitalism (Anderson, 1977).

It appears that Gramsci's works are too holistic, indeed his works are a practical concept, that because of its wide field of application remains too vague (Poulantzas, 1979, p:137). Certainly, it cannot be denied that hegemonic breakthroughs do occur, but hegemony theorists are unable to explain them in the socially transformative terms they intend. Even though subordinate groups do win concessions they are not able to win a dominant position for themselves as they lack the requisite resources to do so (Morgan, 1994a). This lead Morgan (1994a) to conclude that:

> Hegemony theory is better suited to explaining the (macrolevel) facts of social domination, than it is their possible unravelling and transformation. To reiterate, this is not to deny that major hegemonic shifts have occurred . . . rather hegemonists are at a loss to account for (shifts in) socially transformative terms their explanations are meant to convey. For in the former case of major hegemonic transformations what must be explained is how heretofore dominant groups that command the main material and symbolic resources of a society somehow slip from their advantaged position into a disadvantaged one, and, conversely how heretofore subordinate groups that lack access to such vital resources are, nonetheless, able to garner control of them and ascend to occupy this vacated position of dominance (pp.315-316).

While hegemony theory provides an answer to the overzealous Marxist who privileges the mode of production at the expense of class practices and who treats cultural practices as simulacra of material ones, it appears to fall short as a theory of social transformation (Morgan, 1994a). Therefore, hegemony on its own as an explanatory concept must be used with care when one considers the context in which it was written and the somewhat different ways it has been used to explain sporting practices. This is especially so in the analysis of televised sport production (and its context), the text, and the audience of broadcasts that other, sometimes contradictory perspectives are useful in helping to explain cultural phenomena, when used in tandem with Gramsci's hegemony.

2.2 - The Construction of Meaning: Cultural Studies and the Media

2.2.1 - The Production (Encoding)

Interpretive sociological paradigms such as cultural studies are concerned with the construction of meaning (see Fiske, 1989; Turner, 1990). Exponents probe how meaning is produced in and through particular expressive forms and how it is continually negotiated and deconstructed through the practices of everyday life (Murdock & Golding, 1991). Attention is thus given to analysis of cultural texts. Media forms are viewed as mechanisms for ordering meanings in particular ways. Hall (1980) conceptualised the production as being:

> framed throughout by meanings and ideas, knowledge concerning the routines of production, historically defined technical skills, professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions, assumptions about the audience and so on (which) frame the constitution of the programme through this production structure. Further, production structures draw topics, treatments, agendas, events, personnel, images of the audience, definitions of the situation from sources and other discursive formations within the wider socio-cultural and political structure of which they are a differentiated part (p.129).

The production is therefore framed by the range of meanings which the socicultural formation makes available (Cantelon, Gruneau and Whitson, 1988). Indeed, one would expect the production and reception of media sport (or as Hall prefers the moments of encoding and decoding) to be framed within the confines of popular culture for they do not exist outside of it. The production of televised sport and its consumption may be seen as popular culture acting as a discourse with itself. As Cantelon et al. (1988) espoused, the study of textual codes and encoding practices are important but their effects cannot be separated out from those of other moments in the circuit of cultural production. Placing televised sport production within the wider socio-cultural formation signalled a move away from the dominant ideology thesis associated with the Frankfurt school (Turner, 1990) and earlier forms of Marxist thought. Hence, in the production, transmission and consumption of media sports, cultural studies treats people as skilled consumers (Hargreaves, 1986). Consideration is given to the way audience members interpret artifacts and incorporate them into their world views and lifestyle. The creativity of consumers is thus emphasised (Maguire, 1993) rather than any notion of false consciousness. Cultural studies research views texts as being polysemic containing a number of meanings that can be read by the skilled consumer (Maguire, 1993).

2.2.2 - The Audience (Decoding)

Audiences are composed of active agents involved in a struggle to make sense of and give meaning to their particular situation. This emphasis is part of a broader attempt to retrieve the complexity of popular practices and beliefs. In the cultural studies framework the act of subversive consumption is thus sought and celebrated. At issue is the role of popular culture, both in the reproduction of capitalist and patriarchal social relations, and in resistance to these relations (Maguire, 1993). Despite advancing from seeing media audiences as cultural dupes, cultural studies is challenged for its emphasis on the "sovereignty of the consumer." This lead Maguire (1993) to invite those in the cultural studies tradition to fully explain how the media can operate ideologically with an active subject:

> In correctly highlighting the active subject engaged in the practice of winning meaning and creating space from and within the cultural milieu, there is a danger in overemphasising the sovereignty of the consumer. At times, this romantic celebration of resistance appears at odds with examining the way the mass media operate ideologically to sustain and support the prevailing relations of domination (p:36).

While I did not empirically study the audience, brief consideration is given to the role it is postulated to play in a cultural studies paradigm. This enables a theoretical understanding of the speculative interpretations I offer in analysis of the text. Hall (1980) suggested that media readings are open to different interpretations which in some way either support the hegemonic order or could provoke an oppositional reaction to it. Hall argued that audiences employ competencies for decoding television which do not necessarily correspond to the way messages are encoded (by producers). The production constructs a message which is then transmitted (through the form of a programme) and then decoded by the audience. Hall theorized that the viewer can decode the information transparently as it is encoded. Conversely, it can be read in the form of a regulated version containing adaptive and oppositional elements or can be decoded in an oppositional way, retotalising the message with some alternative frame of reference (Hall, 1980). Thus, Hall (1980) stated that although media messages may be interpreted in different ways, this

> polysemy must not be confused with pluralism . . . there exists a pattern of preferred readings. The text is not open to be read in any way the viewer freely chooses, since encoding will have the effect of constructing some of the limits and parameters within which decoding will operate (Hall, 1980, pp.134-5).

Conceptual models, such as Hall (1980) and reception research, such as Morley (1986) have usually applied a macro-perspective, emphasizing the social determination of interpretations. The focus has been on a social subject in terms of demographic variables such as gender, class, and occupation (Hoijer, 1992). Hoijer (1992) agreed with this conceptualization and advanced the idea that there is a missing link between the macro level and the reception of television messages. This missing link is the cognitive level. It is at this level that, "the interpretation process takes place, or rather, the interpretation processes, since it is a question of a whole complex of interacting cognitive (including emotional) processes at different levels" (Hoijer, 1992, p.584). Without cognitive processes there can be no reception at all. It is precisely what occurs in the minds of audience members that will determine the reception. In other words, we need to understand the mechanism behind the influence (Condry, 1989). If we want to fully understand audience receptions of television we must apply this mental or cognitive perspective to the reception process.

This debate relates to the criticism of hegemony provided by Morgan (1994a) where he suggested that the theory can explain macro-domination rather than transformation. For the purposes of this study it can be seen how the cultural studies view of the audience enables media interpretations to be socially determined. However, the micro level of decoding (the mechanism) has not been subject to the same scholarly attention in cultural studies. Additionally, a 'post-Gramscian' cultural studies which emphasizes the sovereignty of the consumer may contradict this view of macro-domination. It is evident that this area of the debate is in need of scholarly attention. Suffice to say for this study media messages are probably to some extent textbound *and* interpreted at the micro-political level. Therefore, in analysis of the text I speculate concerning the ideological potential of the (symbolic) messages. Thus, my goal is not to argue that every viewer uncritically accepts these ideologies but to demonstrate the potential television has to naturalize social, political and economic organization.

This returns us to the work of Blain et al. (1993) who contended that sport media representations have a *potential* for an ideological effect, yet whether it happens depends on a number of factors. It appears that Hoijer (1992) and Schroeder (1994) have uncovered factors which may help scholars make sense of the potential for ideological messages in the sports media to be realised. Such notions have received little, if any, attention in the study of televised sport audiences. Indeed, by conceptualising relationships amongst the media, culture, society and the individual one is able to outline wether there is dialogue between the audience and the production team. That is, do the altered audience conditions have any effect on the production of televised sport? A detailed study of the sports audience would be a valuable contribution to the thesis, however, such an undertaking is beyond the scope of a Masters Thesis. Attempting to study all four interrelated areas in a study of this magnitude would be superficial. A detailed ethnography of the audience is not pivotal in this study. This is not to negate their importance, indeed, it shall be seen how important the audience is in determining some production practices and how influential their perceived reception is to the production team through determining the (sub)conscious dialogue of popular culture. Despite these interesting and extremely valuable contributions, it is recognised that ethnographic studies of the televised sport audience are urgently needed to help scholars understand the *whole televised sport process.*

2.2.3 - A Critical Political Economy of the Media

Murdock and Golding (1991) identified several other weaknesses of a cultural studies approach to televised sport production. These authors argued that cultural studies says little about how the cultural industries operate as actual industries. Cultural studies scholars have neglected the ways in which the economic organization constricts both the production and reception of televised sport. Critical political economy locates the boundaries of action within the economic structure of the industry. Meanwhile, cultural studies indicates that we are the mass consumers that live, create and interpret the culture. Therefore, while political economy details the limitations of individuals and collectivities in the face of large scale impersonal structures, cultural studies informs us that we have created these structures through time and that we can surely tear them down (Meehan, 1994). Put simply, debate centres around two related domains; the political economy of the mass media and the relationship between the mass media and the daily reconstitution of culture. It can be argued that these two domains are highly related and meaning espoused in one area may help in understanding the other. Indeed, any adequate theorisation and study of television requires a blending of these theoretical approaches which would then allow a full integration of the notions of human creativity (agency), class struggle, ideology and impersonal social structures (Meehan, 1994). There is utility in these notions not just in the audience uses of the text but also in the context and the actual production of televised sport.

It appears that an analysis which draws judiciously from the work of Antonio Gramsci and cultural studies, and is informed by a critical political economy is the most promising vehicle for use in the current study. It is these theoretical perspectives which form the base for the remainder of this review and for the methods and discussion chapters of this research. Attention is turned to how these perspectives and postmodernism have informed media theory.

2.3 - Towards a Revised Theoretical Framework: Hegemony and Hyperreality

Hall (1980) implied that the professional code of television broadcasters is a code working to reproduce, via defining elites, the hegemonic signification of events. This mainstream view is concerned with the symbolic work of the media. Blain et al. (1993) argued that media discourse is in the interest of one agency or another and that mediated sports events played a symbolic operational role in the production and/or reproduction of ideology. Therefore, Stoddart (1994) read scholars interpretations of production as consisting of "a highly structured set of symbolic presentations that portrays shared cultural values, consciously elaborately organized as a means for preserving the status quo in the interests of capitalism and the corporate world" (Stoddart, 1994, p.86). Stoddart (1994) compared the findings from his televised golf production to this mainstream perspective and suggested this view needs revision.

Hargreaves (1986) suggested that there has been a paucity of firm, well-grounded conclusions in media research and that like all cultural production, mediated sport requires elucidation in terms of the specific character of the institutions concerned, the technology employed and, above all, the occupational culture of media sport professionals. Blain et al. (1993) provided an excellent account of the symbolic construction engaged in by the media. These authors showed how journalists provided an account of national character which prevails against everyday experience. Blain et al. (1993) claimed this symbolic construction serves the interests of the dominant group in society.

Of particular interest in the project of Blain et al. (1993) was the theoretical base used to make their observations. The authors drew on the dominant thesis in cultural studies--hegemony--and the postmodern notion of hyperreality (Eco, 1986). By drawing on Baudrillard and Eco the authors recognized the textualising of what had previously been considered factual accounts of real events. The notion that reality lay beneath these events was challenged, a notion Eco (1986) termed "hyperreality." North America is a continent obsessed with realism, where if a reconstruction is to be creative, it must be absolutely iconic, a perfect likeness, a real copy of the reality being presented (Eco, 1986). This is how Eco (1986) saw the hyperreality of television (sport), as the boundaries between the game and illusion become blurred through television's (re)presentation. For Eco, the completely real becomes the completely fake and absolute unreality is offered as real presence. To elucidate, Baudrillard showed how society inhabits hyperrealism when people write letters to television characters. In Eco's (1986) words, "the aim of the reconstruction is to offer a sign that will then be forgotten as such, the sign aims to be the thing, to abolish the distinction of reference, the mechanism of replacement" (p.6). In televised sport this explains how there is a reality to be seen as the event on the field, yet there is an unreality represented as real by television. Borrow from Eco and corresponding with my view of television as "rock and roll," televised sport becomes in the words of the Irish musical group U2, "Even better than the real thing" (Storey, 1993). Hostility toward this postmodern thinking has been based on the philosophical objection to the notion of there being no world beyond discourse. Thus, it appeared legitimate to Blain et al. (1993) to acknowledge that the media fabricate versions of social and cultural reality while conversely indicating that, beyond discourse, there is a reality. So, like Blain et al. (1993), I am sympathetic to some of the postmodern interpretations of the hyperreal and I adopt this perspective when it has utility in explaining the role of the media in everyday life. The point to consider is how much of what is seen on the screen is framed by the network, for example, by a story line. Of equal importance is the argument that much discourse is in the interest of one agency or another and inevitably this discursive practice is bound-up with the interests of the state. In the view of Blain et al. (1993) there is a symbolic operation of mediated sports events and they play a role in the production and/or reproduction of ideology.

Peters (1976) and Critcher (1974) were among the first to critically examine the ideological messages portrayed in televised sport. Alongside these CCCS projects, Buscombe (1975) and his colleagues conducted an analysis of the television coverage of the 1974 Soccer World Cup in an early attempt to uncover hidden meanings in sport broadcasting. The crux of this pioneering work was the actual text itself, that is the broadcast the viewer watches. However, emphasis upon the text as a primary site from which meaning can be taken is far from adequate. I explore this notion in the following section before analyzing the (symbolic) messages inherent in televised sport broadcasting.

2.4 - Textual Perspectives: Off the Screen Readings and Their Speculative Contexts

A criticism of recent research conducted on televised sport is that it has been too simplistic and has not examined the whole practice, rather the emphasis has been on the text. The content of texts has been used to develop arguments about the contexts of media production through which meaning is produced. It is important to investigate how the technical and economic influences interact to create pressures and limits which structure the representation of sport on television (Cantelon, Gruneau & Macintosh, 1988). "Put simply, much analysis is read 'off the screen', with little reference to the complexities of the delivery system" (Stoddart, 1994, p.77). This textual perspective has lead to discussions regarding the television/sport nexus and its wider implications based on off the screen readings. Gruneau (1989b) maintained this textual focus is inadequate in furthering our understanding of televised sport and its cultural context:

> This textual perspective has tended to downplay analysis of the political and economic limits and pressures that operate as context for televised sport production, and it has all but ignored analysis of the actual technical and professional practices - the labour process - involved in producing sports for television. In the absence of detailed case studies in these areas, assessments of relationships between televised sports 'texts' and their 'contexts' of production have been speculative at best (p.135).

Gruneau (1989b) offered a case study of televised sport production in an attempt to broaden the literature and create a greater understanding of televised sport by uncovering the hidden dimensions of this cultural practice. Stoddart (1994) concurred with Gruneau's multi-method approach of studying sport and television when he noted:

> In order to capitalize on this beginning, then, the goal should be close investigation of all aspects of the production process for televised sport, and in different cultural settings. By doing so, not only will we bring finer senses of meaning to this modern phenomenon but we will open other means of assessing the social impact of all that imagery (p.87).

It shall be seen from a textual perspective that there are many differing symbolic messages and explanations of the social impact of these messages. Gruneau's (1989b) and Stoddart's (1994) studies, whilst recognizing the need for an integrated approach like the textual perspective, placed little emphasis on the audience. Some reasons why this area has received little attention in the analysis of televised sport are explicated later in the chapter. It should be recognised that there are major linkages between the production of televised sport (its context), the text and the audience. Indeed, I believe these four areas are inextricably linked and studying just one area will lead to conclusions which are biased and partial. This is not a new argument, in fact a key debate in this field focuses upon the attempts to

> consolidate our theoretical and methodological advances by refusing to see (production) texts, readers, and contexts as separable elements and by bringing together ethnographic studies with textual analysis. This is not an appeal for any grand new synthesis but a realization that we need what Radway (1987) has called a 'multiply focused approach' which can do justice to the study of an interactive process (Moores, 1990, p.24).

Within this formulation, Morley (1992), suggested "television's meanings--that is the meanings of both texts and technologies--have to be understood as emergent properties and contextualized audience practices" (p.195). Clearly there is a relationship between television sports production (its context), the text, and the consumption of the text. No televised sport study to date has examined these four interrelated components as a single phenomenon, which when analysed together will ostensibly offer a more profound understanding of the whole process. Despite my strong advocacy for such an approach, it has not been possible to include an audience analysis in this study. As outlined earlier, the focus has been on the actual production and its context alongside a reading of the text. The missing ingredient is an audience ethnography. The audience is not entirely disregarded however, because the production can be seen to be an emergent property of the audience when one considers the dialogue between the production, popular culture and the viewer. However, no strong conclusions are made about how the audience may have decoded the broadcasts. Before reviewing the theoretical and empirical debates concerning the audience's role in televised sport production and reception, attention is given to the actual text itself and the dialectics around the messages conveyed via the medium of television.

2.5 - Selection and Representation: "Good Television" and Its Symbolic Content

As the previous passages suggest, there are two case studies offering an analysis of a televised sport production. However, there is a wealth of literature which explicates how television produces sport. The prominent discourse in this research is that television does not neutrally transmit sport (e.g. Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Goldlust, 1987; Hesling, 1986), rather it (re)presents sport:

> It selects between sports for those which make good television, and it selects within a particular event, it highlights particular aspects for the viewers. This selective highlighting is not 'natural' or inevitable - it is based on certain criteria, certain media assumptions about what is good television (Clarke & Clarke, 1982, p.69).

Not only does television select between and within sports, a voice is added to the medium, which in effect, gives someone else's view of the game, offering a package which has been framed for the viewer in all kinds of ways (Critcher, 1974). Clarke and Clarke (1982) agreed, suggesting television's sense of immediacy is, in fact, "mediated, between us and the event stand, the camera, camera angles, producers choice of shots, the commentators interpretation - the whole invisible apparatus of media presentation" (p.73). Thus, television programmes involve the arranging of a complex set of visual and verbal codes which are organised through a technical and institutional process of selection and rejection. This account contradicts the view held by many producers that the medium acts as a neutral channel through which the event is simply relayed (Blain et al., 1993). While I agree that the picture and audio received by the viewer is 'mediated', further investigation is needed before discerning the producers' views. Journalistic accounts (Drury, 1994; Pierce, 1995) and investigation of Sky Sports practices (Silk, 1994) strongly suggest that production personnel are fully cognizant that television is not a neutral channel for simply relaying an event. This debate is expanded later in this chapter in the context of production and the effects of production upon the text sections.

Previous literature, whether or not from a textual perspective, concurs that television (re)presents sport (e.g. Claeys & Van Pelt, 1986; Whannel, 1986; 1992). The differences in the sport and television studies lie in scholars interpretations of the reasoning behind televisions representation of sport and the ideological potential of this phenomenon. Before an analysis of the attempts to theorize the television/sport complex based primarily on a textual perspective, it should be noted exactly what these "invisible apparati" are. Here I rely on Whannel's (1992) distinction between the different practices. For analytical purposes such a distinction is appropriate, however, it should be appreciated that such practices cannot be separated and are highly interdependent operations (Silk, 1994).

2.5.1 - Production Practices

Visual: Images

Through the use of the television camera and other technical devices such as "super slo-mo," replays, and graphics the live event is authored by the producer (Tunstall, 1993). Williams (1977) suggested that this is the key to a successful broadcast as these practices can keep up the energy level, even if there is a lull in the game action. In addition, the use of cutting and editing patterns corresponds to Whannel's (1984, in Maguire, 1993) notion that hierarchization and personalization are two important components of production. Often, especially in televised soccer, other shots are chosen, such as the crowd, personalities or mangers, instead of focusing on the continuing match (Clarke & Clarke, 1982). Indeed, Morris and Nydahl (1985) contended that the director's choice of shot can control the pace of the dramatic experience offered to the viewer, even if the game itself is a "dud."

Presentation: Story Lines and Identification

Gruneau's (1989b) analysis of the production of the Whistler downhill Ski-Races indicated that the presentational component of the media event is held in as high a regard by producers as the live event itself. That is, the story line component of the broadcast can frame an event from the producer's perspective. Whannel (1992) noted how this segment can establish a relationship with the viewer and provide points of viewer identification. Wenner (1989) pointed out how a 'pre-game show' can be laden with political sub-text. Consistent with this line of reasoning is Cantelon and Gruneau's (1986) analysis of the Grey Cup pre-game show, which they claimed portrayed the theme of Canadian government sport policy and its relationship to nationalism.

Verbal: Narrative Discourse

Television images are not just represented, a voice adds to the entertainment package. In televised sport there are often commentators and a presenter. The commentator offers the viewer a perception of the game which spectators at the live event do not receive. This narration, in effect, gives the viewer someone else's view of the game. This view is often highly constructed (Peters, 1976), a view which can be framed in many different ways (Critcher, 1974). Representation through commentary is determined by whom the commentator is perceived to be addressing, the expert or novice, male or female. This notion is often fused by television producers into male expert and female novice (Whannel, 1992). Commentators are supported by an accredited expert, known as a colour commentator. When a statement is presented to the viewer by such an expert, the statements are meant to convey objectivity and authority, giving the viewer the impression that they have access to knowledgeable opinion about the event and a preferred interpretation of its meanings (Sage, 1990).

In the Sky Sports research project (Silk, 1994) I postulated that these very production practices, at whatever level of consciousness, were responsible for the production of good television. This manufactured display in turn is linked to the ideological dimension of the process. In the cultural studies tradition ideology does not necessarily misrepresent what is real to mask political struggle, rather it is the site of everyday struggle (Turner, 1990). Consequently, it is important to discern whether there are (sub)conscious attempts to misrepresent the "real" in televised sport production. This is a particularly interesting point as it has been argued that televised sport has the potential to mask social class. Rather than seeing ideology as a monolithic force imposed on the masses it is seen as being reproduced voluntarily when everyday practices are taken for granted and appear natural and consistent with cultural experience (Young, 1991). From the cultural studies perspective, media sport discourses have been said not only to enhance the commodity value of the product but also sustain systems of domination (Blain et al.1993). However, these postulations have been based on a narrow understanding of production and often from limited data. Therefore, some of the arguments about how systems of domination are sustained are speculative and do not outline exactly how these mechanisms operate. An analysis of the production can provide a better understanding of encoding and enlighten us in the process of decoding, at least to the extent that readings are textbound. Specifically, research has examined: how media sport discourses reinforce racial and gender systems of inequality (Gruneau, 1989a); how media sport highlights the marginalization, trivialization and objectification of women (e.g. Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988; Duncan, 1994; Macneil, 1988); and how media sport discourse promotes masculinity (Maguire, 1993; Whannel, 1992). Mckay and Rowe (1987), researching in the Australian context, suggested

> as condensed or spectacular rituals and paleosymboic images, media portrayals of sport overtly and covertly legitimate the dominant values of (Australian) capitalism - instrumental rationality, productivity, meritocratic, achievement, corporate ownership, exchange principles, upward mobility, hero worship, fair play, abiding by the rules, and accepting the umpires decision (p:264).

Care must be taken in adapting Mckay and Rowe's observations to every society. Nonetheless, Whannel (1992) posited that these routine practices of production emphasize stars and personalities, and that this process, "provides the basis for the articulation of ideological elements of individualism, competition, gender difference, ethnic difference, work and pressure, the family, regional and national belongingness" (p.121). Therefore, it is suggested that the media, through production practices, present ideological images and discourse (c.f. Goldlust, 1987; Nowell - Smith, 1981; Peters, 1976; Williams, 1977). Indeed, it has been argued by critical sport sociologists (e.g. Whannel, 1989a) that (televised) sport has become a debased form of entertainment and part of the society of spectacle in which lavish and glossy show are produced for mass audiences of passive consumers.

> Such shows are a new form of bread and circuses, a distraction for the masses. They celebrate winners, while losers magically disappear, and they glorify the work ethic of pushing the body across the pain threshold. In doing so they glorify the competitive individualism at the heart of capitalism (Whannel, 1989a, p.7-13).

It is presumed that the social construction of information conveys and promotes dominant political--ideological agendas which appear to be authoritative interpretations of events (Sage, 1990), a view also espoused by Hargreaves (1986). This view is supported by Blain et al. (1993) who proposed that embedded in both the visual and verbal discourses of televised sport are assumptions and ideas which articulate particular ways of seeing and understanding the society in which both sport and television operate.

Furthermore, Clarke and Clarke (1982) believed that televised sport has the power not only to represent these ideologies, but to define them. This is because sport appears to the viewer as a sphere of activity outside society involving natural physical skills. In turn, these ideological images (which appear as a part of everyday life) seem natural and not politically constructed (Clarke & Clarke, 1982). The idea that sportpeople exist in a vacuum outside of society is alluded to in the work of Blain et al. (1993) and Whannel (1992). These authors claimed that television would have us believe that sport exists in a classless society. Sportspeople are normally portrayed as individuals who have achieved success through hard work and dedication. The idea that anyone can achieve or attain the same level of success is a fallacy according to Blain et al. (1993), yet in this classless account of the 'world of sport', anyone, regardless of background can theoretically reach the top. These ideas are consonant with the Thatcherite ideology which took root in England in the 1980s. This consumer culture, it can be argued, has taken root in capitalist societies throughout the world.

In the Australian context, Lawrence and Rowe (1986) argued that televised sport is a vehicle for the delivery of capitalist ideology which operates to justify the existing pattern of social, political and economic organization. Further, like Whannel (1992) and Blain et al. (1993), this helps to obscure the foundations of social conflict and provides a particular view of human nature. Specifically, that the working class is encouraged to adopt a particular understanding of social reality (Lawrence & Rowe, 1986). This conception is constructed through the appearance of a world that revolves around competition, aggression, violence, and tension. These tenets of society are viewed uncritically as social givens, that are not historically derived nor alterable. Similar arguments are presented in the North American context through a content analysis of the Superbowl (Bailey & Sage, 1988). Bailey and Sage (1988) contended, "televised sport . . . provides a vehicle for value transmission" (p.141).

What is unclear from the current literature, which by and large fails to combine the production and the text, is the relationship between these phenomena. Are such ideological images and discourse the result of producing entertainment, are they produced consciously, or are they the result of some other process? Gruneau's (1989b) study inferred it was a result of 'making good television'. Silk (1994) evoked a similar explanation: the very images and discourses employed to produce entertainment, to satisfy the economic context--an express function--are the very processes which promote an ideological agenda--a broadcast laden with ideological latent meaning. Furthermore, Stoddart (1994) pointed out that ethnographic analysis produces a more complex picture than the mainstream literature lets on, "for this production at least, consensus and negotiated images appeared for the viewing public rather than . . . dictated and dictatorial ones" (p.86).

Whilst an ethnography of every piece of production is beyond the reach of manageable research projects such as Gruneau (1989a) and Stoddart (1994), I can focus on the influence of network ownership, the purpose of the television agency and the human agency within the production. This will provide a close investigation of all aspects in the production process for televised soccer and in a different cultural setting, Canada (Stoddart, 1994). In addition to these focal points, one must take into account the personnel involved in production. It is suggested that both the production and content of televised soccer are male dominated arenas. In this sense, the sexual division of labour is clearly articulated: men play, women watch. When women are accommodated into the discourse of televised football they are marginalized and trivialized (Blain et al. 1993). Therefore, both in production and in content, televised soccer may be contributing to hegemonic masculinity. In the same vein, Sage (1990) held that the media elite largely represent the same classes as the economic elite. As a result, the dominant economic class exerts a major influence on the mass media, directly through ownership and indirectly through advertising.

The notion of advertising receives attention in the context of production section. Of interest here is the 'direct' control of the media by a few economic elite (Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner are two primary examples). Gitlin (1980) suggested direct control contributes to the achievement of hegemony. Specifically, he claimed media owners and managers are committed to maintaining the present system. Hegemony means indirect control of the masses through their consent. The direct control then must be seen in the decisions in the production arena. Is the producer inhibited in any way from choosing an image for broadcast due to a constraint resulting from an owner's philosophy or the organizational culture he or she has created? For example, does the contemporary economic structure become naturalized in televised sport production and reception due to direct pressure from higher management to include economic messages within the show. Such speculative notions have received scant attention in the media/sport production literature, except in the work of Brian Stoddart (1994). These conjectures are discussed through an analysis of human agency, institutional pressures and the homogenisation of sport delivery systems in the following sections. This debate clearly suggests that statements such as the one cited below are in need of deeper investigation by an analysis of production and context.

> The media elite want to honour the political - economic system as a whole, their very power and prestige deeply presuppose that system. At the same time, they are committed, like members of any corporate elite, to their own political and economic advantage (Gitlin, 1980, pp.258-259).

In addition, events are often interpreted by experts. As former sport stars, these experts are survivors--even models--of the competitive meritocracy, their social consciousness is thus fully congruent with hegemonic perspectives and fully integrated into the dominant value and belief system (Sage, 1990). Gitlin (1979) stated that this practice and another common technique, the extensive use of statistics, contributed directly to the achievement of hegemony:

> Out of control of social reality, you may flatter yourself that the substitute world of sports is a corner of the world you can really grasp. Indeed, through modern society, the availability of statistics is often mistaken for the availability of knowledge and deep meaning (p.258).

In a similar vein, Hilliard (1994) contended that televised sport inhibits the individual from development of a sociological imagination. Televised sport purportedly does this by presenting the game from an individual perspective and by focusing on protagonists. This, as I have already shown, may be the result of the economic and/or political forces impinging on the production. This perspective, which relates to C. Wright Mills (1970) "sociological imagination," exemplifies personal troubles and how they should be solved, rather than public issues. For example, this method of presentation may encourage female viewers to think that unjust conditions in sport are personal troubles and should be solved as such, rather than public issues related to their oppression in society, which can be ameliorated by collective struggle.

As seen from this perspective, the media are instruments of political and social persuasion (Milliband, 1969) and sports telecasts are symbol bearers contributing to the achievement of and legitimization of the dominant hegemonic agenda (Sage, 1990). Such a view gives little room for human agency, both in the production of the event and in the consumption of the text. This belief is hardly surprising given the paucity of literature concerned with audience consumption, and more specifically, the lack of attention given to the production of televised sport. Further, analysis of the production of a particular broadcast, or set of broadcasts, cannot be definitive unless the context of that production is taken into account. Literature which has adopted this perspective has focused on the economic pressures of production. Jhally (1984; 1989) has informed much of this research with his theoretical positioning of the audience and sponsorship as primary influencers of the production, a notion he has termed the "audience commodity". In the following section, a critical of this perspective and of others who have taken into account the context of production is undertaken. In addition, drawing upon the study of Sky Sports production of soccer (Silk, 1994) a number of related areas are discussed. Specifically, the global, political and industry pressures and opportunities which are hypothesised to affect production of the TSN soccer telecasts.

2.6 - A Symbiotic Relationship?: The Development of the Audience Commodity

Television, in association with sponsorship and advertising has been responsible for changing the face of sport in the last 25 years. This is referred to as an "unholy alliance" (Whannel, 1986; 1989b; 1992), in which sport helped to make television and television helped to make sport. In this period, sport has been remade as television audiences have become economically more important than stadium spectators. Thus sports have changed more to adapt to the needs and desires of TV and its viewers than to the fans in the stadium. The growth of televised sports sponsorship constitutes an economic force which has generated a cultural transformation. Whannel (1992) posited that this transformation took place in an uneven way. This unholy alliance developed as the power of the commercial sector grew and television became a facet of popular culture in many societies. Televised sport heightened the visibility of star performers which in turn led to athletes endorsing commercial products and advertisers aligning themselves with popular sports (Whannel, 1986; 1992). Thus televised sport became an alternative way of product promotion. Televised sport became an outlet for this alternative avenue, in the form of signature sponsorship which consisted of a company connecting itself to a program (Hargreaves, 1986). For example, Molson breweries now own CBCs' weekly hockey broadcasts known as "Molson Hockey Night In Canada."

It has been argued that television produces audiences which it sells to advertisers (Wenner, 1989). Therefore, the advertisers are a customer and the television audience is merely a product. "This seems to be especially true in televised sport in which the flow of sports coverage and its forms are increasingly dictated by the demands of advertisers" (Williams, 1994). This has been termed the economic nexus that exists specifically between sport, television and advertising (Hall, Slack, Smith & Whitson, 1991). Therefore it is hypothesised from this perspective that a (symbiotic) relationship between sport and television has developed which can be seen as a fusion between media/sport/advertising. This relationship can also be contradictory because it is also a contractual relationship, in which conflicts of interest are endemic. The media appreciate the value of sports to sell advertising, just as the sports industry appreciates the free publicity derived from the coverage. But the media would like to buy the sport material for as little as possible, while the sports industry fights to retain a proprietary interest in what it produces for public consumption (Wilson, 1994). Televised sports audiences offer desirable demographics for advertisers. Furthermore, televised sport can be live, unscripted, dramatic and colourful spectacle all of which catch the audience's eye (Wenner, 1989). Therefore, televised sport is a useful tool with which to attract advertising revenues.

Wenner (1989) stated that if a broadcaster has done his job well (and invariably it is 'he'), the sports fan will be attentively viewing when a commercial message appears. This contention can be extended if one considers that many such messages are contained within the broadcast itself, such as when a sponsor's name appears on a player's shirt or advertising board. With the fusion between sport and the commercial sector being so intrenched the viewer would do well to distinguish the sport from the commercial message.

It is evident that the economic forces of sponsorship, advertising, and competition have heavily influenced televised sport. However, there has been little research on the economic context impinging on televised sport production. Murdock and Golding (1991) noted that even cultural studies analyses say little about how economic organization impinges on the production and circulation of meaning in television sport broadcasts. These authors proposed a "critical political economy" of sport, which would investigate the interplay between economic, cultural, political, and social life. Theoretically, if an understanding can be gained of the wider economic context in which television production occurs, then greater sense can be made of the actual production itself, as well as the text resulting from that production and the audience reading of that text.

The above discussion also highlights the importance of the political context of production. This facet has received even less attention in the literature than the economic backdrop. Gruneau's (1989b) study emphasized the economic and technical constraints of production, rather than the political context. Quasi-political directives such as the licensing agreements granted, in this case, by the Canadian Radio-Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) may have an effect, not only on the type of programmes broadcast, but on the content of the programme itself. This notion was supported by Sparks (1988) in his analysis of TSN where he asserted that the regulations imposed by the CRTC, among other crucial formulators, has lead to a strong emphasis on male sport. Furthermore, Cantelon and Gruneau (1986) declared that the CBC broadcast of the Grey Cup emphasized Canadian national sport policy and nationalism, however, no examination was made of the external pressures, such as those imposed by the CRTC, which may have played a part in formulating messages in the broadcast. As Golding (in Williams, 1994) asserted "there can be no serious doubt that public service media sources consistently provide a partial and coherently biased account of many areas of political and social life" (p.379). Despite the apparent common sense of this argument, there has been a paucity of work attempting to determine how these biases became ingrained. It is therefore relevant for this thesis to study the extraneous influences affecting production on TSN and the resultant messages produced. Gruneau's (1989a) study, while exploratory in nature, sparked an interest among media scholars and clearly showed the importance of examining the political and economic context in which the production company is operating.

2.7 - Creating a Show: Satisfying the Economic Forces Impinging on Production of Televised Sport

There has been little documentation of the effects of production upon the text. Here it is relevant to draw heavily on the few studies which have examined televised sport production (Gruneau, 1989b; Silk, 1994; Stoddart 1994) and the theoretical and journalistic writing which has assessed the impact of the economic effects on the text. Nowhere is this economic context more visible than in the operations of Rupert Murdoch. Star television, Sky television and the Fox network are all run by the Murdoch consortium. In the sporting context, Fox is one of the National Football League (NFL) broadcasters and in February 1995 commenced coverage of the NHL.

In Britain, Sky Sports paid £304 million to cover the English Premiership Soccer League, £114m of which came from sponsorship. The executive producer of Sky Sports stated that to justify this amount of spending they must provide a show "that will get ratings up so Ford and the rest (Fosters and Gillette) will keep their interest in us" (personal interview, Silk, 1994). This statement clearly indicates that the economic forces impinging upon Sky Sports are influential in impelling the producer to enhance the game. The Fox network employs the same philosophy. Fox is paying $1200m over three years for NFL coverage. When the NFL was deciding who the rights should go to, 'creating a show' was a critical factor. Jerry Jones, owner of the Dallas Cowboys, watching a Sky Sports soccer match is reported to have exclaimed, "if he (David Hill) can do that for soccer, Christ knows what he'll do for football" (Drury 1994, p.66). It is interesting to note that David Hill was the former head of Sky Sports and the executive producer I interviewed worked under Hill. Therefore, it is not far-fetched to surmise that Hill brought his professional ideologies with him when he became head of Fox football.

To satisfy the economic forces impinging on the production of televised sport, producers feel a need to produce a show--an entertainment spectacle. To create this media event, producers employ the three interrelated production practices previously outlined: visual, verbal, and presentational. These three interrelated production practices work together to augment the live event and create a show:

> The media/sport production complex enhances the excitement/spectacle value of the sport . . . in the following ways: cutting and editing of the live match, use of camera positions, angle and focus, use of slow motion, use of graphics, music, interviews and 'expert' analysis (Maguire, 1993, pp:39-40).

According to Morris and Nydahl (1985), the aim of these practices is the production of a "unique and dramatic spectacle." Television sport producers allude to this practice themselves. The Sky Sports executive producer interviewed stated:

> Basically we try to show anyone who's watching key personalities, tell them about the clubs and players to watch, try to get the women interested. Today there's really too much football (soccer) on television, we spend more money, make the action tighter, more exciting, ... more captions . . . the whole family can watch one of our games and enjoy it . . . there's a lot you can do to brighten up a dull game and make it into a great game (Silk, 1994, p.35).

A representative of Fox Television, who adheres to the same 'entertainment philosophy', spoke of the changes planned for their first season of NFL coverage:

> Fox's coverage will indeed be different. Production values for starters. Fox will have twelve cameras at every nationally televised game (CBS and NBC have eight). Hill vowed that Fox will have the most replay machines, the slickest graphics, the most efficient production assistants . . . In short, biggest, best, most. Each Fox game will have a super slo-mo on site . . . Hill added that Fox technicians are experimenting with a revolutionary sound

> system . . . that would bring the bangs, the grunts, and the roar of live collisions and quarterbacks into every living room (Drury, 1994, p.67).

In summary, televised sport production, whether in the British or North American context, creates a show designed to satisfy the economic forces impinging on production. From this literature, it appears that this economic context in turn produces entertainment which ostensibly satisfies the viewer. However, this is a rather simplistic and generalized explanation. Stoddart's (1994) ethnography of an ABC golf production signified that a more complex picture can be formed when one observes the relations of power inside the production process and the sources of influence over the final product. Gruneau (1989b) extended this notion in arguing that producers work hard to position viewers in particular ways.

> This involves an active process of marginalizing, downgrading, or deligitimizing potentially alternative explanations. This is not done through some finely tuned process of political socialization on the part of the production crew: rather it simply reflects the routine acceptance of discourse in production viewed as necessary to the making of good television (pp. 151 - 152).

These explanations, which partially address the political and economic context, do not acknowledge other important factors which may also have an effect upon the production, and thus, the text. These other factors include the role of human agency in production, partially investigated by Stoddart (1994); the effect of industry practices (institutional wisdom) on production; the role of a company's culture; and the role of global forces upon the homogenisation/differentiation of the sport delivery system.

2.8 - The Global Village and Its Role in Televised Sport Production

Recent theoretical work examining the sport media continues the trend which shows increasing global growth and influence. The debates have centred around media imperialism, cultural homogenisation or exchanges, the ideological consequences of multinational media, Americanization, Europeanization, and local needs in the face of globalizing tendencies (cf. Blain et al., 1993; Carugati, 1995; Maguire, 1993; Williams, 1994). Specifically, debate is at its most intense concerning the alleged power of one country to impose its culture on another over the view of a multidirectional flow of cultures. Maguire (1993) suggested research on the media and sport should be sensitive to this global issue.

Blain et al. (1993) supported the view that it is possible for one country to impose its culture on another. These authors showed how the media construct sport as part of the national psyche which may ultimately reinforce the dominant political system. Blain et al. (1993) examined the television coverage of the 1988 European Football championships, convincingly arguing that they witnessed the transformation of an international sporting event into a wider ideological process. Theoretically, the media attempted to construct a sense of social stability to which individuals could relate. According to Blain et al. this manipulation of the event had the potential to mark off one country against another or, depending upon the requirements of the media, could unite two countries conceptually. Hence, RTE in Eire and ITV in England, were ostensibly reproducing accepted myths and prejudices about other countries such as the cold war rhetoric and references to unfriendly Soviets (Blain et al., 1993). Thus, in the media sphere the pluralistic metaphor of the global village may have to give way to the "monolithic image of cultural invasion," whereby the process of globalization is administered to the advantage of a hegemonic power (Rowe, Lawrence, Miller & Mckay, 1994). From this perspective it can be argued that "the new global media, operating through representations of spectacle, privatize property and contribute to the fragmentation and the marginalization of the social" (Balaczs in Williams, 1994, p.380). Garry Whannel (1992) made similar arguments concerning the BBC coverage of Olympic sport, whereas Maguire (1990) showed how Americanization became part of English culture in domestic television coverage of American Football.

Williams (1994) argued that the new global mass media focus less on simply reproducing class bias and more on promoting a self-referential media bias by their showing of spectacular sporting events and cultural flamboyance in an attempt to attract large audiences. Maguire (1993) alluded to the use of production practices by media personnel as a tool to increase the marketable values of sport in the global marketplace. Thus, far from notions of cultural invasion, perhaps media personnel are merely attempting to attract the largest audience. This brings us to the degree of intent in the production process. Maguire (1993) postulated that a key research question is whether or not cultural domination is a result of a cultural product from a foreign culture? By this query Maguire seeks to determine if a cultural product can impose itself just by being produced in one country and being shown in another. Further, Maguire (1993) questioned whether this is a conscious and/or subconscious exercise. Indeed, it is expected that the televised sport broadcasts would reflect the culture in which they are produced. While this study can not determine how a different culture decodes the broadcast, it can determine what the role of the production crew is in producing sport for a global audience. Will the producer/director be aware of the global audience and tailor the broadcast for them in order to promote Canada? Or, will the production team provide a more balanced view for all the countries receiving the broadcasts?

This final question brings us back to a consideration of the second half of the controversy, that concerning cultural exchanges rather than domination. Rowe, Lawrence, Miller and Mckay (1994) enhanced the debate by forwarding the idea that to comprehend the reach of international images and markets, it is necessary to move beyond the simple logic of cultural domination toward a more multidirectional concept of the flow of traffic in people, goods and services. Williams (1994) took this idea one step further. Rather than talking about cultural exchanges he argued that the "sinister global sporting discourse" creates universals through which people communicate and thus has the potential to flatten out cultural differences. However, Rowe et al. (1994) warned of the dangers of reliance on global integration:

> While it is important to capture the increasingly diverse and changeable ways in which social groupings are connected within and across regions, nation states, localities and cities, the globalization thesis often descends into teleological assumptions of global integration and uniformity or into unidirectional accounts of cultural imperialism and obliteration (Rowe et al., 1994, p.673).

In sports broadcasting, a question which needs addressing is whether new broadcast technologies are more 'national' or 'international' in nature. Preliminary observations by Blain et al. (1993) implied that the distinction between different delivery systems has become less clear cut. The adoption of the American-style treatment of sport, with its rapid cutting, overbearing commentary and show business hyperbole has become increasingly evident as television stations attempt to maximize their share of a fragmenting audience. Stoddart (1994) contended that in contemporary analyses the television system becomes homogenised. That is, the dominant analytical mode concerning the sport/television nexus, assumes there is a consensus about what images represent symbolically and that this view crosses all barriers between telecasting systems, personnel, and international boundaries. The current thesis can at least begin to address this debate by analyzing the effect of these global pressures on the broadcast.

2.9 - Codes of Practice and Institutional Procedures: (Sub)conscious Homogenisation of Televised Sport Delivery Systems

Closely tied to the globalizing tendencies in media sport are notions of the homogenisation of delivery systems. This has been alluded to above and is extended here to aid comprehension of the possible effect institutional practices have upon the production. The above debate assumes that the economically driven desire to attract the fragmented viewer has lead to an Americanization of sport delivery systems. Blain et al. (1993) implied this is a reaction to an insatiable desire for television to show action sequences using a multiplicity of camera angles. The journalistic accounts and the interviews conducted by Silk (1994) contended that televised sport production values are similar worldwide. Recent accounts of the Fox network's forays into sport television imply the notion of shared production values. David Hill, former head of Sky Sports in England, copied ideas from Roone Arledge. He directly reproduced Monday Night football in Britain and subsequently brought the same high production values that Arledge had invented at ABC to Fox. Consequently, Hill's production style had long been Americanized, framing his comments concerning his production decisions, "Every key decision I've made in television, I've thought how would Arledge do that? How would he milk it?" (Pierce, 1995, p.184).

Indeed, even before new global technologies and new delivery systems there were notions within the industry of a correct code in which to frame action. Buscombe (1975), in the British Film Institute's early attempt to understand sport television, stated that it is impossible to show an event on television without choices being made.

> This does not necessarily mean that decisions are made consciously, indeed the fact that they are not reinforces the argument that they are made in accordance with a code. For in practice decisions about what to cut, about whether to move the camera in or out, need to be taken at speed and must therefore be made with reference to a system which is understood so implicitly that it has become second nature--just like language itself (Buscombe, 1975, p:5).

These codes, whether cultural or televisual, are not consciously employed. Technical practices become naturalised, in the sense that particular techniques involved are reproduced instinctively as the one and only, the 'natural' way of doing things (Buscombe, 1975). It can be suggested that these "institutional practices" are bound in the historical development of televised sport. Whannel (1992) outlined how certain visual conventions have become formalised, such as in soccer where the half way line became the principle position in which to cover the game from. This was shown by Ryall (1975) where the principal camera position for German television coverage of the 1974 Soccer World Cup was from the halfway line. He termed this the normal shot. A close shot was almost always alternated with this normal shot. Despite major technical and global developments, similar shot patterns were seen on the Sky Sports coverage of F.A. Cup games (Silk, 1994).

With little supporting empirical evidence, it seems reasonable to advocate the idea that there are similarities within sport delivery systems. However, the role these "institutional practices" play in influencing the production team has received no investigation in a televised sport context. Thus, it is necessary to borrow concepts from other disciplines to determine their explanatory power in media sport production. Drawing upon socio-cognitive phenomena, such as shared mental representations and language amongst firms, Porac and his colleagues (Porac & Thomas, 1989; Porac, Thomas, &

Baden-Fuller, 1989; Porac & Thomas, 1994; Porac, Thomas, Wilson, Paton & Kanfer, 1995) showed how mental models used by decision makers are implicit in interpreting their task environment. This actor-centred perspective shows how industry models have become part of the macro-cultural belief system of industry participants. Thus, these actors used collective representations (or as Buscombe stated--codes) to solve everyday decision problems (Porac et al, 1995). Hence, in televised sport, this perspective would allow us to determine if there are any shared assumptions amongst industry personnel, and if so, how they influence the actor's (producer's/director's) decision making. This interorganizational perspective is particularly relevant for an analysis of televised sport. Indeed, Gruneau (1989b) used a similar explanation in his discussion of the practices which formed the CBC broadcast of the Whistler downhill ski-races. Rather than the crew having been exposed to some finely tuned process of political socialisation which could lead to the conscious production of symbolism, the practices reflected the routine acceptance of the discourse in production viewed as necessary to the making of good television.

An even greater insight can be gained by taking an intraorganizational perspective to help bring meaning to these influences. Drawing upon the work of Bachrach and Baratz (1970) and Luke (1974), Walsh, Hinings, Ranson and Greenwood (1981) suggested that the values, beliefs and rituals of an organization and institutional procedures operate to restrict individuals decision making options. That is, the institutional practices or the value system embodied in an organization at the operational level, structure and influence an individual's decision making. The point here is that the institutional practices may constrain the producer and director (and perhaps offer opportunities) in making their production choices. Thus, it is necessary to offer a brief analysis of the culture of the network under question. Further, it should be determined how constrained the actors who worked on the specific broadcasts are within TSN's value and belief systems. Sparks (1988) observed that the network has a high-tech, masculine image and approach. Therefore, "It is likely that TSN's mission of producing men's sports and a young audience commodity would influence staff recruitment and would become broadly institutionalised in the organization" (p.338). It can be postulated that the decision makers for the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts may have been inextricably bound within TSN's culture as TSN would only hire individuals who would conform to this culture. Production decisions may be influenced by an ideology or a code. That is, the production team bring with them a set of ideas about how decisions should be made. This is a decision making process requiring a "robust ideology" (or code) with its underlying moral norms (Butler, 1991) framed by the organization's culture. A similar argument is made by Mintzberg (1976) who suggested that individual decision making processes are programmable. Although the processes used are not predetermined, that is, the director may never have made exactly the same decision before concerning that particular shot rejection or acceptance, a basic logic or structure underlies what the decision maker does. Therefore, examination of the role of these intra and interorganizational pressures upon production have to be addressed to determine how free a choice the production team really has in selecting and rejecting shots and discourse for broadcast.

2.10 - The Role Attributed to Human Agency in Televised Sport Production

The above related sections all point toward one very important and vastly under developed area of concern in sport television delivery systems--the role of human agency in production. The only piece of empirical work to conceptualize the pressures on the production team, and thus the related questions, was Stoddart's (1994) ethnography of televised golf which opened new lines of inquiry about televised sport. The aim behind Stoddart's (1994) research was to test his observations against those in the mainstream literature. Stoddart concluded the images which appear on the screen are consensual and negotiated, rather than dictated and dictatorial as might be expected from a reading of the mainstream literature.

Further, Stoddart's (1994) ethnography of televised golf production raised the question of "craft pride." Specifically, Stoddart (1994) postulated the televised golf production was "underwritten by craft pride, a point little in evidence in the extant literature" (p.80). Rather than any notion of social engineering, the production team freely chose images and discourses congruent with their own perceptions of what makes good television. Stoddart (1994) did not contend that symbolism was absent at a subconscious level, rather he asserted that "the standard intellectual analyses of televised sport are based on narrow understandings of how the viewed pictures are created" (p.80).

Stoddart's (1994) contribution is a valuable addition to the literature, as it brings several new issues to the agenda and clarifies the production process. Despite this promising beginning, Stoddart paid little attention to the constraints which impinge upon the production personnel. Influences such as the network's philosophy and technology do receive brief consideration. Due to the call Stoddart makes for differentiation amongst different productions, these issues are addressed in this research. In addition, pressures which come from the media industry (intraorganizational) and from within a broadcast company (interorganizational) are not examined by Stoddart. Hence, these "institutional practices" and "cognitive communities" (Porac, Thomas & Baden-Fuller, 1989) are examined in the current thesis to gain a better understanding of the selection and rejection of shots and discourse for on air broadcasts.

To summarize, little is known about the actual production of televised sport, due to the inadequate inferences made from textual analyses and the lack of empirical investigation of this site in the televised sport process. Much more is known about the actual content of the broadcasts and their presumed ideological and hegemonic potential. But we still do not really know how these texts are consumed, or by whom. Despite this limitation, my purpose is to gain a better understanding of the production and speculate concerning the ideological potential of the symbolic messages communicated by this production. Stemming from the literature presented, I present the following research questions.

2.11 - Research Questions

The main theme concerns the manifest function of the broadcasters. Whatever the pressures and forces which impinge on the routine production, it needs to be determined what the agents themselves believe is their role. This seems like an obvious point, however very few studies have paid scholarly attention to the actors in televised sport production. For example, do the production team consciously construct symbolic images in the interests of one agency or do they represent images for reasons yet to be analysed in the mainstream literature? Related to the above questions, I plan to determine:

> Q.1. What is the manifest function of the production team of the Canada Cup of Soccer?

It has been recognised that there has been a paucity of work dealing with the political and economic forces operating on televised sport. A major theme in the literature review has been the effect of these related contexts, if any, on the production. For example, would the owners of TSN, Labatts Communications,[1] have a say in what goes to air. Further, would the context of governmental policy in the form of CRTC regulations impact the choices in the production decision arena or the actual text? Highly related to the above, the purpose of TSN is investigated. This involves assessing the history, the culture, the expressed aims and desires of senior management and their interrelations with the production staff. In addition, investigation needs to determine if the production team is highly integrated into TSN's culture or whether there are direct instructions from senior management concerning what goes to air. Simplistically stated, it needs to be determined whether the production crews' choices are structured in any way, and if so, what the direct and dictatorial constraints on these choices are. A specific question posed which addresses the impact of these particular forces is as follows:

> Q.2. What are the political, economic, global and "cultural" (institutional, technological, historical) forces operating on the production of the Canada Cup of Soccer?

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[1] At the time of writing Labatts Communications is in the process of being sold off as Labatts itself is being taken over. The most prominent bidder for John Labbat Ltd. is the Belgian brewer Interbrew. The deal calls for a breakup of the Toronto based conglomerate which may mean TSN programming becomes less Ontario-centric (e.g. Strauss, 1995; Houston, 1995). Once this deal is in place, it will be interesting to investigate the influence this different environment has on production.

A number of related topics emerge from question two. These concern the global context of the production and whether this context serves to homogenise the sport delivery system. Consideration has to be given to whether the broadcast is involved in a multidirectional or a unidirectional flow of cultures. Further, would the global context make these broadcasts more 'national' or 'international' in nature? In addition, I suggested in the review that the homogenisation of the sport delivery system may be linked with globalization and that this may lead to data concerning the "cognitive televised sport community." To address these issues, the following questions are posed:

> Q.2a. To what extent does the global context of the production impinge on the production practices?
>
> Q.2b. What are the consequences of the global production context on the actual text and the possible ideological dimensions of this?
>
> Q.2c. How does the role of the "cognitive televised sport community" impinge on the broadcast of the Canada Cup of Soccer on TSN?

By examining the inner workings of TSN, comparisons can be made with Stoddart (1994) and Gruneau (1989b) to determine if these day-to-day organizational practices are impinging on the production of televised sport. By drawing upon organisational sociology and psychology it can be determined whether these institutional forces influence the actors in their decision making. Thus, to pose in question form:

> Q.2d. What effect do the institutional forces operating within TSN have on the production of the Canada Cup of Soccer?

Another influence on the production process may come from audiences themselves. The whole debate concerning the audience commodity may well pressure the production team into choosing certain images, audio and story lines to please this audience commodity. Thus, it needs to be determined whether or not the TSN production team tailor programmes for a perceived audience and what importance do they place upon the audience commodity? Of course, the answer to this question will be determined in part by the analysis of TSN's culture. Despite the web of connections between these categories, the audience pressures need to be explicated. Therefore:

> Q.3. Does the audience commodity affect image creation, human agency, craft pride or have a more direct effect on production?

In terms of the text itself, the main cultural studies project is to uncover the latent meaning in the broadcasts. Thus, using semiologically oriented techniques, advocated by Cantelon et al. (1988) I intend to determine the latent meaning in the TSN Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts. Drawing upon Stoddart, I pose the following questions:

> Q.4a. To what extent do readings 'off the screen' match the details of construction witnessed through the observation of production?
>
> Q.4b. How do the readings of the text match my observations of the meanings that the producers and programme staff are trying to encode?

Finally, drawing upon the theoretical positions advocated in this review, I speculate concerning the *ideological potential* of the (symbolic) messages in the broadcasts and audience use with these broadcasts from plausible interpretations of the text. Therefore:

> Q.5. What is the symbolic/ideological (latent meaning) produced through the production of the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts on TSN?

Attention is now turned to the methods used to answer these specific questions.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS UTILISED TO ANSWER THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Stoddart (1994) suggested that utilising a qualitative approach which can draw upon a number of theoretical and analytical tools is more effective at uncovering the meanings rooted in televised sport than a positivist design such as content analysis. Such an open-ended strategy enhances the opportunity of investigating unexpected issues. In addition, the thesis also draws upon theoretical tools used in postmodern and critical political economy fields. Meehan (1994) implied that an adequate understanding of television (sport) requires the integration of theoretical and methodological approaches which can allow us to fully integrate notions of human creativity (agency), class struggle, ideology and impersonal social structures. Attention is now turned to the methodology I used to answer the research questions.

3.1 - The Production of the Canada Cup of Soccer and the Context of the Broadcast

The primary method of data collection utilised to investigate the production of televised sport was varying levels of observation from total observer to participant observer. This entailed the sustained immersion of the researcher among those with whom he or she seeks to study with a view to generating a rounded, in-depth account of a group or organization (Bryman, 1988). Throughout the TSN production of the Canada Cup of soccer, from the initial set-up to the packing-up of equipment, I became immersed with the production team. Over the course of the summer of 1995 I gained full access to the detailed production of live soccer coverage conducted by the major cable sports channel in Canada, TSN. In this case, I spent a week with the television crew at Commonwealth Stadium in Edmonton from set-up phase through test phases, to the live and delayed transmission telecasting and, finally, the wrap up of the week. I observed all levels of operation at extremely close quarters. Indeed, the executive producer, who normally travels to such events was absent, therefore I had the opportunity of 'taking his seat' (quite literally) in the production truck during my observations. Full access meant I was allowed into the production meetings at which the TSN personnel were present. This gathering included the producer, director, technical director, commentator, expert commentator and the associate producer. In addition, I observed the set up of the technical equipment, continually asking questions to clarify certain technical points. This involvement also enabled me to build a strong rapport with staff not directly employed by TSN, such as freelance camera operators. During the actual telecast, the rehearsals and the creation of stored images for use in the telecast, I sat in the executive producer's chair in the production truck. This is where the "action really happens" (Gruneau, 1989b; Silk, 1994). Here decisions were observed concerning exactly which shots and audio to accept or reject for broadcast. Further, I was on headset for the entire week. This enabled me to listen to and observe the interactions among the production personnel throughout the case study. Observations were recorded overtly throughout the week with the full permission of the entire team.

To clarify my observations and gain additional information in neglected areas of research (such as inter and intraorganizational pressures) I supplemented my observations with interviews. These interviews ranged from formal, pre-planned interviews with the play-by-play announcer and expert commentator, to opportunistic, open-ended discussions with the floor director and the technical director. Chronologically, I interviewed the director, producer and associate producer after the second live telecast of the Canada Cup (see Appendix C for a detailed list of interview dates and times). The interviews took place in a private room at the hotel where the crew was staying. On the same day, I formally met with the commentary team. Toward the end of this session we were joined by the producer, director, associate producer and coach of the Northern Ireland soccer team, Brian Hamilton. During the placement of a goalcam in the third broadcast I informally talked with the producer, followed by conversations with the operators of Cameras One, Two and Four and with the Floor Director. All interviews and informal discussions were tape recorded with the permission of the person being interviewed. In addition to these interviews, the TSN team treated me as one of the crew. Thus, after broadcasts I was invited to socialize with them as they ate, drank and relaxed after the telecasts. These discussions took place at various restaurants and bars in the city of Edmonton, usually to supplement data gathered earlier in the day or week. This easy acceptance enhanced my belief that the TSN team were not acting in any way different from their norms and values because of my presence as a 'researcher'.

The interview and observation data were then analysed in a number of ways. I identified common themes amongst the data and took note of the comparisons between the mainstream literature in televised sport and those studies concerned with the production itself. I then took these preliminary observations to TSN's head office. My purpose for this visit was twofold: First I wanted to elaborate on a few loose threads that emerged from the data. I did this by conducting a number of follow-up interviews with key actors in the production process. At the head office I conducted formal, in-depth interviews with the director and the producer of the Canada Cup broadcasts. In addition, I had a formal interview with the executive producer of TSN responsible for programming. The second reason for the visit was to enhance my understanding of the inter and intraorganizational pressures on the production. While it is recognised that two weeks, one at the production site and one at the head office, was not sufficient to fully conceptualize a culture or multiple cultures, the interviews and observations had the potential to enhance my understanding of the production process. Thus, I spent a week with the personnel at the head office, again being given full access to decision processes, day-to-day interactions and procedures. These interviews and observations supplemented the understanding of the context of the production.

In every way possible I tried to remain in the role of total researcher, which involved participating nominally or not at all (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). This was not always possible. At times the production team drew on my expertise, first as a researcher who had been exposed to the production of Sky Sports soccer in the UK, and second as an British citizen who was categorized by the production team as a "viewing expert," due to the experiences I have had with televised soccer and playing the game at a semi-professional level in England. For example, I was involved in an open-ended discussion with the producer of the broadcast while he was setting up a "goalcam." I held certain equipment while this process went on. At one point the producer asked me to view the monitor behind the goal to determine if it was a good view. In doing so, he stated, "Mike, tell me if this is the view that Sky has in England." On some occasions I had little option but to become involved as a researcher/participant. While recognising that this role had limitations such as the possibility of data contamination, I believed that helping the production team was a positive aspect of the methodology. It clearly showed that the production team did not see my presence as a hindering factor nor were they hiding details to give me a false perspective. The team clearly accepted my role and acted according to their own norms and values.

A further possible limitation of the research is the case study method used. Such an approach can be said to be particularistic in that it portrays events in just one situation. Alternatively, this approach can be seen to be holistic in that as many variables as possible are examined within the specific context of the situation. The few studies which have concentrated on televised sport production both used a case study perspective (Gruneau, 1989a; Stoddart, 1994). Stoddart (1994) urgently called for case study ethnographies which test the assumptions and weaknesses from readings off the screen. This is also the method advocated by Gruneau (1989b) when he conducted a case study of the labour process of the CBC's broadcast of the 1986 Whistler downhill ski race. Gruneau spent "several days" with the production team observing and interviewing key personnel, whereas Stoddart (1994) spent a week with each of the three different production teams he observed. A case study approach is perceived to be the most feasible way of analyzing televised sport productions. Van Maanen (1988) implied that case studies can serve as the base for grand comparison. This process can only be enhanced when comparisons are made between observations of the production and the 'text'. Consideration is now given to the methodological tools utilised to analyse the text.

3.2 - Analysis of the TSN telecasts of the Canada Cup of Soccer

A qualitative paradigm was used to analyse the texts of the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts. Such an approach can unmask the underlying principles and connotations of televised sport. This is in comparison to a strictly semiotic design (see Berger, 1982) which is structurally limited and tends to emphasize manifest content (see Cantelon et al., 1988). These authors developed categories for qualitative analysis guided by Peter's (1976) paper emanating from the CCCS concerning the underlying meanings in the 1976 FA Cup soccer final and by the BFI monograph (Buscombe, 1975). In this study analysis was made of the actual flow of the broadcast: the succession of items and themes both within and between the published sequence of programmes. Further, to gain an understanding of the televised sport broadcast the textual analysis begins with an attempt to grasp the basic rythyms and related elements of the programme, such as the internal composition, the narrative themes, the play and non-play segments and the post-game wrap-up (Cantelon et al., 1988).

Each of the three broadcasts were videotaped and viewed a number of times. The flow of the broadcast was determined by defining the game and non-game segments. Furthermore, it was determined how these non-game segments framed the game segments. In a similar vein, the commentary was analysed, differentiating between the play-by-play calling and the "narrative" components of the audio.[2] To supplement this analysis shot lists were compiled which broke down each shot (see Appendix A for a description of each type of shot) which went to air into a discrete category (e.g. long shot or face shot). This analysis was used to reveal the themes and flow of the telecast rather than decontextualizing the visual shots or narratives. Similarly, narrative was not broken down into single sentences. Statements were taken in context with the rest of the narrative and the production. Finally, these interpretations of the text were compared with understandings gained from the production data, enabling a comparison of the intention of meaning inherent within the text and the coupling of these two units of analysis, which with notable exceptions have been treated as separate and discrete units of analysis. A semiologically-oriented design, without its structural limitations (such as the lack of sensitivity to production as an historical process, the issue of readership and human agency and subjectivity and coupled with observations of the production), can hopefully direct our attention to preferred readings and positions. When linked with the context of production such as the dominant productive relations and the professional discursive practices, the methods can offer a frame of reference for analysis of cultural production as a whole (Cantelon et al., 1988). To put the following results and discussion into context the next chapter features a description of the research setting and general conventions of production.

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[2] It should be recognised that the play-by-play calling is itself not neutral and does involve narrative components. For the purposes of this study the distinction is maintained as it was categorised by the production team. However, future work may want to assess the ideological properties of both play and narrative.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESEARCH SETTING AND THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF PRODUCTION

The following is a description of the setting where data for the production section of the thesis were collected. Consideration is also given to the general conventions which govern production which shall be used to help answer the research question (number one) which sought to specify the production team's main function. Specifically, I outline examples of the communication between the production crew during the week I observed and the guiding conventions of coverage--the interrelated areas of build-up and audio and visual practices. Rather than a critical analysis, this chapter is concerned solely with a description of the practices which provide the context for the ensuing results and discussion chapter.

4.1 - The Research Setting

4.1.1 - The Crew

The production crew was made up of staff from the TSN head office in Toronto. It consisted of the producer, director, technical producer, associate producer, a play-by-play announcer and colour commentator. In addition, a local Alberta crew were employed. These employees consisted of 5 camera operators, 3 audio technicians, 3 video tape recorder (VTR) operators, 1 floor director, 4 video operators, 1 chyron (graphics and fonts) operator, 1 switcher, 2 televisual assistants (TVA), 1 mobile operator and 1 engineer. This manual crew had worked for TSN on numerous occasions and for various other television networks and stations.

4.1.2 - The Production Truck

The main area where the televised production of the event occurred was in the mobile production truck parked on the west side of Commonwealth Stadium in Edmonton. The largest room in the truck was the real "hub" of activity where the director, producer and switcher were located. There was a panel in front of these three key personnel which contained numerous screens. On the left hand side were four video replay monitors which supplied images from the camera which had been recorded by the VTR room. There were also two screens which offered the graphics (chyron 1 and 2) from the chyron operator desk who sat behind the producer. These screens were directly in front of the area of the desk occupied by the producer. In the middle of the panel were two larger television screens; the left screen showed the actual program being aired, while the right screen showed the next shot to go out on air, the preview screen. Surrounding the program and the preview screen were twelve smaller screens showing the shots being offered by the camera operators. For the Canada Cup of soccer, eight of these screens were in use, four were blank. These screens were directly in front of the match director.

On the right hand side of the panel, in front of the switcher, were an assortment of six smaller screens. They held still images which were either being shown, in preview or being edited for preview. These screens were called Still A (Air), Still B (Edit) and Preview Key. In the second row of the truck was a row of desks which housed the chyron operator (who was also responsible for other animation as well as graphics) and a desk for the associate producer and executive producer (who was absent at the Canada Cup of Soccer). This platform is slightly raised so I observed over the shoulders of the front row production staff. The associate producer and executive producer slots were furnished with audio equipment, thus I listened to all that was said on the head sets.

The second area of the truck was separated by a partition and located directly behind the first area. This was the location of the audio technicians, who were on headset with the producer and director. A third location, again partitioned from the other areas, housed the video play-back machines which create replays and stills for the ongoing program and for the pre-match, post-match and half-time segments. The different cameras fed into different colour coded replay machines (Red, Blue, Green and Yellow). These were recorded and then sent to the first area where they appeared on the appropriate screen. The director stated over headset if they were required. If not, they were discarded and the machine was available for the next replay.

4.1.3 - Outside Areas

The main area outside the production truck was the press centre inside

Commonwealth stadium. This area housed the two main cameras and the 'television suite'. This had bulkhead facilities (the cables were plugged directly into the wall from the cameras and commentators and linked to the production truck). The commentary team worked in this suite, located high in the west side of the stadium. In front of the two commentators was a screen showing the image currently on air. The television suite had facilities for all forms of media and was the location for the production meetings. The two main cameras (Camera One and Camera Two) were also positioned here.

The floor director was responsible for the rest of the outside areas and the television suite during the pre, post and half-time segments. The other outside areas were the pitch side where two permanent cameras were placed and a mobile camera was operating. Various crew members were stationed here, including runners, audio technicians and the remaining camera operators. This was also where the communication took place between the crew and the game officials. For example, the floor director gave the fourth official the signal for the game to start. A mobile camera was also placed on the near touchline and cameras were also high above ground on the west side and above the goal on the south side of the stadium. In addition, one camera was placed inside each goal.

4.2 - The General Conventions of Production

During the week the TSN employees were concerned about finding one consistent story line to run throughout the telecasts. In the crew's terms, the actual broadcast is a simplistic process--the construction of a story. The crew arrived in Edmonton with a pre-arranged opening for Game One. This was based on Canada's recent international soccer games and was intended to build-up the ensuing tournament games. The day of the first broadcast was exceptionally hectic, as the crew had two games back-to-back. There was considerable pressure in the production truck and amongst the crew generally. I was informed that this was not a normal day. After the first game, the crew settled into more established patterns. The producer and associate director were concerned with continuing the story line. Consequently, they spent the days between matches travelling to Canada's training camps, local schools, and watching the players play golf in an attempt to compile background information for the next game. To show how important this build-up was perceived by the broadcasters, the actual pre-game segments lasted no longer than two minutes, yet took over ten hours to edit. This editing and additional footage was added to the pre-game show at the site due to the 'actuality' of the footage (e.g. fans arriving and players warming up).

In the broadcasts observed the crew arrived at the stadium approximately six hours before game time. In addition to putting the final touches on the pre-game show, scripts were finalised, camera operators briefed and rehearsals conducted. During this pre-broadcast time there was considerable interaction among the TSN crew. To provide an example, the expert announcer was due to interview the Chilean coach. Before departing for the dressing room the director informed the expert announcer which questions to ask. Of course, this interview agenda harmonized with the ongoing story line as did the meeting held by the director with the local crew. Here, the director gave feedback on the previous telecasts ("get closer, get more faces guys") and informed camera operators of the players being focussed on in the build-up and of the general theme and script for the day.

During the broadcast, interaction continued among the TSN personnel, especially with the director, camera operators and audio technicians. From the bank of screens in front of the director, the switcher was told by the director which image to put on air including chyrons, other graphics and archive footage. The producer offered input ("take a look at camera 2, there's good action in the shot"), yet during the live telecast, the director was solely in charge. The producer oversaw the replays and interacted frequently with the VTR operators. Following is a typical example of the workings in the production truck and the interchanges that occurred in the first half of Game Two of the Canada Cup of Soccer.

> Director -" Get goalies, Camera 2 get me Chilean goalie."
> Producer (to VTR) - Replay called by Producer, "go back on Yellow Maurice, hold it."
> Director - "A little tighter if you can 3."
> Director - "Get Gillespie on the bench."

> Producer (to expert commentator) - "dangerous challenge, coming up on replay."
> Director - "who did it (foul), #17, okay get me 17 camera four."
> Director (to floor director) - "Is Chile (coach) happy?."
> Director (to camera operators) - "I can't keep looking at the keeper all the time so give me other players in that situation, I can't just see him bouncing it."
> Director - "go with yellow now." Producer - "but they're playing".
> Director - "yellow in, we won't miss anything."
> Director - "Zoom in 4, zoom in on him, that's it, neat, tight, good."
> Director - "Look for commercial in that next goal kick . . . hold on, lets look at that hand ball."
> Producer - "as soon as we get a break in the action, let's see that clash of heads."
> Director - "Cam 4, Rod, give me the Chilean coach, oh, no coach, (name of expert announcer) hates Mickey mouse fouls, he's talking about him, get on him (Chilean coach), get on 4."
> Director - "5 gotta take shooter and then follow him, he was focussing on keeper, Trev, what you have to do is follow shooter."
> Director - "Camera 5 shoot me these crazy fans, okay shame, it's better off five."
> Director - "missed corner, oh fuck, they'll never know."
> Director - "got it on yellow, roll it, quickly yellow, quickly, squeeze yellow" (replay in while game continues).
> Director - "Give me fans, fans, faces, more happy faces, fans."
> Director - "Yellow, show me a hero please, that goal, good thanks, roll yellow."
> Director - "Cam One, get guy who just went in, there he is on your left, font in."
> Director (talking to audio technician about low ambiance) - "Some more ambience Joe (audio), we'll take whatever you have got there.".

These observations are supported by the shot pattern observed from the shot-by-shot analysis conducted, which is separated for descriptive purposes into the non-game and game segments of the broadcast.

4.2.1 - Non-Game Segments.

In the pre-game, half-time and post-game segments the shot patterns were slightly more erratic, inseparable from the story line. In the pre-game show the aim was to have as many close shots as possible in the opening sequence to catch the viewer's attention. For example, a thirty second montage to begin the second show took over four hours of editing by the associate producer. The rest of the pre-game shows were concerned with singling out certain players as the commentary team built-up their possible contribution to the game. Again, an example, of the 32 different shots employed in the short pre-game segment of match one 10 of 31 were close shots of the three players singled out by the production team as being integral to the story line. Similarly, 10 of 33 shots in game two and 14 of 37 shots from game three (even though this sequence did not go to air in Canada due to the overrun of a Toronto Blue Jays baseball game on TSN) were applied as part of this practice. The remainder of the shots were of the commentators, the crowd, and archive footage.

The half-time shows were also similar and quite simplistic. When taking a commercial break after the end of the first half, the director would focus on a player who had been a key part of the first half, usually a player who had been showcased in the pre-game segment. Following the commercial, the expert announcer would offer his selection of highlights and comment on the contribution of those singled out by the production team. This involved numerous (normally three different angles) slow motion replays of the key incidents. Following another commercial or a TSN head office production such as "Sports Break," the crew came back with a shot of the stadium, a chyron of the score, followed by a close-up of the referee and the beginning of the second half.

The post-game wrap was also simplistic and brief. When the final whistle was blown, the director chose shots of key performers in the previous ninety minutes action, again, preferably the designated players from the pre and half-time segments. For example, following game one, 7 of the 14 post-game wrap shots were of two players focussed on during the pre-game segment. A further element of the post-game segment was to show the "TSN turning point," which is conveys the production team's view of the key incident of the game as well as offering an opportunity to bring commercial interests into the broadcast. In addition, the post-game was used as a platform to promote further presentations on TSN. Outlined below is a typical example of the post-game wrap drawn from game one of the Canada Cup of Soccer. Appendix A explains the criteria used to determine between certain types of shot, such as close-up and personality shot and the numbers assigned to each type of shot.

Table One: Segment of Shot-By-Shot Analysis - TSN Canada Cup, Game One

Switch #	**Shot Type**	**Descriptor**
438	#3	Lenarduzzi face shot
439	#2	Peschisolido face shot
440	#4	crowd tight shot
441	#3	Lenarduzzi close up
442	#2	Peschisolido, close up
443	chyron	score > Break
444	chyron	TSN Turning point - Royal Le Page
445	#2 replay	Peschisolido goal, tight shot
446	#3	exchanging sweaters tight shot > Break
447	#4	goal post, adidas chyron, tight shot
448	#2	crowd leaving, tight shot
449	chyron	score in
450	chyron	billboard for womens friendly
451	chyron	Game 2, Canada Cup
452	#2	replay of Peschisolido celebrating, close up

4.2.2 - Game Segments - Bread, Butter and Gravy

Despite the specific situation, be it a corner, a free kick or a throw-in, there was one guiding convention employed throughout the game segments of the broadcasts. At this point, it is worth quoting the director of the broadcasts at length. Initially, I was informed that there were no guiding conventions, however, when probed further the director responded:

> What's most important is that you take the shot where the action is, that's most important, getting fancy is always the gravy, it's like you've got the bread and butter shot is the guy with the ball, okay follow the ball, you have to, you have to shoot it, that's your responsibility to the audience, to show them. Now anything on top of that, is making it fancy, it's the gravy, which is a close-up, or let's talk about Carlo Corrazin and I'll give you a close up of him, or lets look at something else, like a keeper or some statistics, kinda keep it going, keep it going. But first and foremost you've got to have the ball, if it's tight short little kicks back and forth, then I would stay tight, now once that goes wide then I have to cut wide and then once it goes to the corner, then I go to the corner camera. So follow the ball and to the closest camera, so wide is good when they're playing end-to-end and they're in the defence or offensive box, you don't want to be cutting tight there because you might miss something. So my options are limited when you are in certain areas of the field, but when you are not you have options galore and then you have to think to yourself too much is too much, when is it going to stop, and you can do too much, and at home it gets a little bit disjointed if you do too much, you're going too many places you know (director, personal interview).

Therefore, the guiding convention of the coverage can be defined as the *bread, butter and gravy*. This was confirmed by the shot-by-shot analysis which shows that the game was covered by the two main cameras located in the press suite, cameras one and two, the *bread and butter* shots. However, whenever possible, be it a break in the action for a throw in, corner or any other break, the director tried to get as close as possible to a particular player (especially a player focussed upon in the story line), show a replay or squeeze in a chyron. In the director's own words, make it look fancy: the *gravy* practices. These gravy practices were further defined by the director of the broadcast who stated:

> You have to do more than just show the sport itself, I think, when someone is at the game that's all they expect, they expect to see the sport, and that's

> it, that's the difference between being there and being at home. When you are at home, you expect a certain level of coverage, and we have to give that level, which is statistics, profiles, you have to personalise the players, you have to show people at home why they should be watching, it's not only the sport but there is a person behind the sport, what does this person do, besides play the sport, so profiles, features, that sort of thing is important, so close ups of players, outstanding feats they have done. You see you have to enhance the sport when you are broadcasting it, because that is the difference between being there and being at home, showing different angles of a replay, because when you are at the site you see a goal, if you miss it . . . (Director, TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, Personal Interview).

This is enhanced when there is an incident such as a goal. At this juncture, there is a longer break in the play, therefore allowing for more gravy practices. Thus, for a goal, typically the 'hero', the goal scorer was focussed on, followed by replays of the goal from different angles (normally three due to the number of VTR machines available in the production truck), followed by a shot of the fans and then the celebrating player(s). Below, is an example from the general guiding conventions of TSN soccer production: the bread, butter and gravy of soccer production for television.

Table Two: Segment of Shot-By-Shot Analysis - TSN Canada Cup, Game One

Switch #	**Shot type**	**Descriptor**
108	#2	throw in - tight shot
109	#1	game
110	#2	throw in
111	#1	game
112	#2	Peschisolido - tight shot
113	#2 replay	tight shot of 'head clash'
114	#1	continuing game
115	#2	Dowie close up
116	#2	close up of players shorts

117	#1	game continuing
118	#2	Fettis tight shot
119	#1	game
120	#2	Dolan tight shot
121	#1	game
122	#2	Fettis tight shot
123	#4	game tight shot
124	#1	game long shot
125	chyron	TSN TICKER
126	#2	Dolan close up
127	#1	game
128	chyron	Dolan, Canada

Table two shows how these guiding conventions are put into practice. The bread and butter shots are generally shot type 1, which follows the game from a long perspective. As soon as possible the gravy was added. For example shot numbers 116, 118, 120 are all shots focussing on something more 'fancy'.

Up to this point I have just offered a descriptor of these practices and the actual resultant text. After presenting this brief numerical description of some of the practices, I want to extend this context, taking into account the literature reviewed in Chapter Two and the research questions posed. In the following chapter, the meanings behind these practices are uncovered and discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

PART ONE: THE MANIFEST FUNCTION OF THE TSN PRODUCTION TEAM AT THE CANADA CUP OF SOCCER

The main research question (question one) concerned the manifest function of the TSN production team. This discussion can be framed in a number of ways and is critically explored in the following sections. For example, the manifest function of the team can be seen to be affected by: the economic, historical, global and political contexts of production; the audience; the culture of TSN; and the industry of televised sport itself. This section furthers the description of the practices described in the research setting.

The mainstream literature in media sport purports that the professional code of television broadcasters is a code working to reproduce (via defining elites) the hegemonic signification of events (Hall, 1980). This mainstream view is primarily concerned with the symbolic work of the media. For example, the work of Blain et al. (1993) explicated how journalists consciously construct national identity in sports reporting. However, in those studies which have actually analysed and interviewed the production team (see Gruneau, 1989b; Stoddart, 1994) the authors proposed that the mainstream literature may need updating when one examines the actual labour process of production. That is, the dominant mainstream literature which postulated that producers and directors consciously and symbolically construct discourses in the interests of one agency or another may be inaccurate. Rather, discourses are composed of what the producer and director feel is "good television." Stoddart (1994) suggested an even more complex argument, favouring the idea that the production of televised golf was not determined by a set of shared consensual values nor by a specified view of symbolic construction. Rather, it was underwritten by craft pride.

The TSN crew were undeniably involved in representing the Canada Cup of Soccer as a "media event" (Hargreaves, 1986). Consequently, the whole invisible apparati of media presentation (Clarke & Clarke, 1982) was employed. Indeed, this is a transparent process which is not concealed from the viewer in any way. Commentary from a Canada Cup match reinforces this notion. The viewer is often told that a certain replay is coming up, such as, "and here's the view that the goalkeeper had folks" (expert announcer). In addition, the director often cut away to show these invisible apparati in action. For instance, during the second game of the tournament the director cut away from the ongoing action to the commentary team from Chile, La Red television. The idea that producers feel that televised sport is a neutral channel (Clarke and Clarke, 1982) through which the event is relayed is challenged by my observations of the TSN crew. This finding concurs with the accounts from the journalistic references cited earlier (Drury, 1994; Pierce, 1995) and from observing the practices of Sky Sports in England (Silk, 1994).

5.1 - Story Lines: Scripting the Unscripted

It is the "gravy" practices which are of interest here. Why would the director cut away from the game to show the Chilean commentators? Why would the director assume that the viewer would be interested in this diversion? Williams (1977) suggested that these practices keep the 'energy level' up, a point also alluded to by Clarke and Clarke (1982) in televised soccer. The main reasons offered by the TSN production team for these practices correspond to the Whistler ski race study on the CBC. Gruneau (1989b) concluded that one of the manifest functions of the production team was the development of a story line. The executive producer at TSN confirmed the importance of this aspect of production:

> We want to tell stories about people that we are broadcasting, about the teams and the individuals, so if you are watching the college football games tomorrow, and hopefully you don't know the teams and the players, by the end of the broadcast you might want to cheer for one of the players because you've found out something about them. So we'll do profiles, we'll do features, introduce you to the athletes, get you closer to the athletes, give you a reason to like the athlete . . . it's one of our jobs to get the fans to connect a little bit with the athletes and not just as performers on the field, but hopefully as people off the field. I guess you hope they are going to emotionally identify with something on the screen, have a reaction to something on the screen, whether it's positive or negative . . . they have an emotional attachment to these people (personal interview).

This guiding philosophy was obvious within the Canada Cup of Soccer production.

For the producer of the tournament, this meant pre-broadcast research to determine a compelling story line that could be integrated into a game. During the broadcasts the producer felt a need to be flexible, because the game is unscripted and may not go in the direction the production team had anticipated. The producer's "job is to tell stories, to tell stories . . . and I mean you can tell the story visually with the pictures you send and also the audio that the commentators are saying" (personal interview). In the broadcast this precept was shown in a number of ways. First, the story line focussed on several players considered to be key to the outcome of the tournament. Thus, as outlined in tables one and two, these players were shown frequently during game and non-game segments and were featured in the non-game build-up and summaries. If these players had not performed as expected the discourse centred on why this was the case, in effect scripting the unscripted game. This mid-course strategy change involved a considerable amount of effort by the production team. The first broadcast's nongame segment ran for a minute and five seconds out of a two hour show, yet the team had spent the previous two days putting it together. This preparation is justified, according to the producer:

> That's to set up the story line, let the viewer know right from the start the personalities, what happened to Ireland on Sunday, the coach of Chile is under pressure because you know they lost to Bolivia in the World Cup and they're without their best player. So, the run down, once we get on camera, for a viewer who doesn't really know much about soccer, they can tune in, watch the first five minutes and make a decision, and say, yeah I'll watch the first half just to see whether these two guys Goldberg and Salas can make up for Zamarano not being there, or who is Keith Gillespie, he's their best player and he's out, what's going on there and see how they react to that. And also for the soccer viewer as well, if they, the Irish fans were watching and we didn't tell them these little things then they'd say well you missed the story, this is an important series for them, they're going to go back and play Latvia on June 4th, like this is essential that they start showing some form (personal interview).

Taking into account this context and the bread, butter and gravy practices employed it is clearer that the conscious intent of the production team in cutting away from the action was an attempt to maintain the story. The second game of the tournament held the least Canadian fan appeal because the game featured Chile and Northern Ireland.

The production team felt it important to keep interest levels up by promoting the next game (Canada and Chile) and by showing the importance of that game to the Chilean audience. This is why the story centred upon these two areas and was seen in practice by the switch to the Chilean commentators. This scene was dramatized by the commentator's statement that the Chileans were here, "obviously because it is a big game back in Chile." Further, the Canadian national soccer coach, Bob Lenarduzzi, was invited into the commentary booth and interviewed by the expert commentator. In this instance, audio and commentary were used that had little to do with the action unfolding on the pitch, rather it was centred around the story line of the tournament as constructed by the production team.

In summary, the TSN production team, through the use of integrated non-game and game segments were involved in a self conscious exercise in story telling (Gruneau, 1989b). Indeed, the executive producer clearly stated the most important thing is to "give the viewer a reason to watch." This was made explicit by the producer of the Canada Cup of Soccer, reflecting after the broadcasts.

> Well, one of the things we are trying to do is tell stories, you know we might go into a game and formulate a story line, and we might talk about that and also with your commentators. So (commentator) and (expert) and I, and the associate producer, in the case of what we did in May, (associate producer), would talk about story lines, and we would go to Edmonton and we already had developed the story line. We built the opening up with Keith Gillespie and Dowie, focussed on the key players that Canada have to play against (personal interview).

This is not to deny that these practices do not hold any latent, symbolic meaning. Rather, it is to forward the notion that in the production of televised sport I observed there was no overt attempt to symbolically construct discourses in the interests of one agency or another (except TSN). The notion of hyperreality (Eco, 1986) is a useful explanatory concept here. Specifically, the reality of the game became blurred by the story line. Therefore, the audience were exposed to reality as an illusion, which did not just contain the unfolding game, but an unreality framed by the production practices of the crew. That is, there is a reality before mediatization. However, the images and narrative discourse which make the screen is not the reality unfolding, rather the story line scripts the unscripted game and those images and discourses which make the airwaves are constructed according to this story line. Domestic broadcasts such as the one observed, and those studies by Gruneau (1989) and Stoddart (1994) open new lines of inquiry in televised sport production. I recognize that this could be a superficial exercise were I not to account for a plethora of other factors, for this story telling is influenced and constrained by other functions, some manifest, others latent. Attention is now turned to these other factors that influence the messages being conveyed. First, analysis is made of the other manifest functions of the production team. A convenient place to start is the desire for entertainment, which is inextricably linked to the story line.

5.2 - Televised Sport as Entertainment: "It's not just TV you know, it's entertainment"

The production crew were well aware that the creation of a story line is immaterial if it does not translate into good television. First, I consider what the crew deems to be good television and indicate how this was reflected in the broadcasts. In the pre-game segment, the producer was especially keen about entertaining or "hooking" the viewer. Through the use of natural sound, music, scripts and arresting visuals he felt you could create an introduction full of action. In asking the producer his interpretation of what made a "good picture" he replied:

> My opinion is a close-up, emotional faces, smiles, crying, that type of thing, I also like using a lot of natural sound, crowd noise or ambiance and/or commentator's calls and goals. We used that, I don't know if you remember, on the second opening when we used highlights from the first game of (commentator's) call of the goals from the first game (personal interview).

In the pre-game shows constructed by the producer and his associate there were numerous close-up and face shots of the players, which were cut quickly to maintain a fast pace. These practices concur with the labour process alluded to by Maguire (1993) who suggested that quick cutting and the like all add to the excitement/spectacle of the event. The TSN production also supported the observations of the Sky Sport's soccer broadcasters who employed similar practices to maintain and stimulate audience interest (Silk, 1994). In addition, music, natural sound and commentator's calls were used to enhance the entertainment value of the broadcast. The images used were usually chosen in accordance with the story line. For example, a broadcast face shot was usually of a player dramatized in the non-game segments. This flow was maintained in the game segments of the broadcasts. That is, the bread, butter and gravy practices discussed earlier were employed to provide an entertaining broadcast in accordance with the story line.

The importance of maintaining viewer interest was stressed by the producer. In talking about the gravy--the shots and audio used as "fancies"--rather than concentrating on the game, the producer stated:

> I think that adds because it brings to the viewer an element which perhaps at an earlier age they did not see. Suddenly, they feel like they are right into the game. The video is important in that, and also the audio, I mean all these parabolic mikes we have around here are important in bringing the viewer corner kicks and you can hear the guys talking as they are setting up and you can hear the ball, it's important, really important (personal interview).

Within the game itself, these practices are used by the production team to provide an entertainment package. For example, the announcers stated that they divided their commentary into what they call the play-by-play and the narrative; the narrative being extra commentary, such as talk about a player's hairstyle, his wife or birthday. One such example was that of the expert commentator's statement about the shorts which the Northern Ireland team wore:

> You know, it's funny how styles change, when I started playing soccer in 1953 I used to wear pants as long as the Irish are wearing today and I never thought they'd make a comeback, they look pretty good actually . . . yep, there's the shorts folks, not too good in summer but great in the winter, keeps the knees warm (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, May 22nd 1995).

To demonstrate the inseparability of the production practices, the expert commentator told the production truck that he was going to comment on the shorts. The director then instructed a camera operator to find a pair in close-up, thus leading to the aside by the expert commentator. This incident outlines the importance of the entertainment aspect of production. When questioned further about such comments the colour man stated "I want them to sit down for two hours and be totally entertained. Sure, I don't give a fuck about what they think about something as long as they get two hours where they don't have to worry and think about something . . . it's entertaining." In summary, it is clear that the production team places great emphasis on production practices which they think add entertainment to the game, even if that means turning away from the game. When questioned on her use of gravy practices, instead of focussing on the game the director stated:

> If you think that way you'll never make good television, you can't think that way. If you truly believe that the guy at home just wants to see the game, then our role as TV people is truly limited, we might as well take three cameras, plonk them there and let the guy at home pick what he wants to see, you can't believe that. You want to believe that by making a snappy opening, by bringing through a theme, carrying through the theme throughout the show that you've maintained the audience and that you have kept the audience watching. We'd like to think we could do just as good an opening, just as snappy an opening, but without compromising the sport or the theme, it just enhances. I think that is the difference between being there and being at home, you know you have to enhance it somehow, because you know you are not there, you are at home, you want to be entertained, it's not just TV it's entertainment you know (personal interview).

Thus, the manifest function of the TSN crew at the Canada Cup of Soccer was to entertain their audience by carrying though a story line in association with the bread, butter and gravy practices of production. Emanating from these data are the reasons behind these practices, therefore the following section provides a discussion of the interrelated concepts of advertising, sponsorship and the audience, conveniently termed the "audience commodity" (Jhally, 1984; 1989).

5.3 - Selling Beer, Soap and Cars: The Bottom Line in Televised Sport

> To keep them watching, when it really gets down to it, my job is to sell soap, my job is too make sure that you are watching long enough to see the commercials we are running after the goal is scored. If you want to get down to the basics my job is to sell beer, and soap, and cars and everything else because that is what brings in the revenue, and in order to get people to stay to that commercial you have to have a programme that is compelling enough that they are not going to use their flicker and walk away. It's interesting how we try and integrate our programming around our commercials so people will want to stay. We do things like going to commercial breaks by telling you what is coming up immediately after commercial breaks so people won't flick away (Executive Producer, TSN, personal interview).

It is evident from the executive producer's comments that the fiscal bottom line is an important part of the soccer coverage on TSN. A manifest function of the production team, like those of Sky in England (see Silk, 1994), was to create a show using themes and entertainment conventions that will hopefully satisfy the economic forces impinging upon production. This appears to be a common factor among producers in televised sport. Gruneau (1989a) reported the influence of these forces upon the production team and the journalistic accounts cited earlier outline the importance of a 'show' to justify the huge amounts of money spent on televised sport.

Despite the ubiquitous economic forces acting upon production, the TSN production team felt that sponsors and advertisers were not a direct influence upon the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts. The commentators explicitly stated that they would never compromise the integrity of the broadcast to satisfy a sponsor. Indeed, the expert commentator stated that in comparison to say the CBC Hockey broadcasts, where "fucking Molson Canadian is everywhere," there was no direct influence upon their work.

5.4 - Bells and Whistles: Economic Constraints and Opportunities in the Canada Cup of Soccer Broadcasts

Despite the production crew's avowed inclination toward maintaining the integrity of the sport, there were times within the broadcasts when a sponsor had to be accommodated. During the live telecast, action was missed to take a commercial break.

The director, recognising this, stated that the bottom line is what keeps the programme going, without it there would be no soccer on TSN. She was adamant that the integrity of the show could not be compromised by commercials every time the ball went out of play or by too many intrusions from a sponsor. This was evident in the broadcasts whereby commercials were taken only once in 45 minutes of the game segment, at the thirty minute mark. The TSN team gets around the lack of commercial time available within a soccer broadcast by selling commercial time within the game itself. Below is an informal discussion between the expert commentator and the play-by-play commentator after I asked their opinions on the sports/media/advertising fusion.

> Play by Play (P): You see, that's one of the things here, you sell every bit.
> Expert (E): You sell the billboards and it is plastered everywhere. You see it's on . . .
> P: the supra, the promo, it's everywhere. You sell statistics, you sell lineups.
> E: I mean look at the hockey broadcasts, fucking Molson Canadian is on everything isn't it.
> P: You see that's where, that's where the money is made in a telecast. You sell whatever, within reason you can sell without . . . because you see you are limited in terms, . . . with the amount of advertising. In Canada you are only allowed eight minutes of commercials an hour, I think in the United States it's upwards of twelve, so you get around that you end up selling . . . for example . . . the game is bought to you by Adidas, but then the starting line-up is bought to you by "Thrifty Rent a Car," the highlight of the night is bought to you by somebody else.
> E: Royal Le Page, and the stats are bought to you by . . . you sell all these things associated with . . .
> P: So all the ingredients to the show . . . and in that way you get around the eight minutes. I mean you still sell your eight minutes, but within the body of the show I mean (personal interview).

Soccer broadcasts do not offer the same opportunity for commercial breaks as the "traditional" North American sports of basketball, football and hockey. Despite this, the crew satisfied the commercial pressures on the network by including sponsor recognition and commercials *within* the broadcast. When viewing the broadcast, it is evident how the commercial messages are slipped in without compromising the flow of the game (or the broadcast). For example, the opening tease included a shot of an Adidas soccer ball accompanied by the commentary, "The Canada Cup Of Soccer is brought to you by Adidas, the brand with the three stripes." Or, the TSN turning point is brought to you by Royal Le Page, "A cash donation will be made to the Coaching Association of Canada for the training and development of coaches in amateur sport on behalf of TSN and the real estate professionals that make the difference. Aim higher with Royal Le Page." This supports a contention raised in the review of literature. Wenner (1989) stated that a broadcaster knew he or she had done the job well when the audience was viewing attentively when the commercial message appeared in the broadcast. Unlike the traditional North American sports the commercial messages were not clearly separated from the actual programme where due to the flow of the broadcast, the commercial message is likely to appear in the broadcast itself. Despite this inclusion in the broadcast, the TSN team were adamant that their purpose was not jeopardized by these economic forces. The expert commentator claimed that there was no real contact between the production team and the sponsor. Rather, the sponsor buys the spot and does not regulate what goes to air. The whole production team concurred that a sponsor had never called a shot or an image, this is the job of the producer or director.

However, when one uncovers a deeper layer of meaning, it can be seen that economic forces do play a larger role than the team may consciously realize. The producer agreed that the sport/advertising fusion was a naturalized part of his work. That is, since a sponsor puts in a great deal of money to buy advertising on a show, the production staff naturally try and do justice to that sponsor by giving them air time. This indulgence was described as an unspoken cultural norm among televised sport producers. Williams (1994) suggested that such economic forces are increasingly disrupting the flow of sports telecasts. The data forwarded by this research, while recognising that the production team feels that it does not desecrate the integrity of the show, partially supports William's (1994) statement. That is, there is always a conscious or even sub-conscious awareness of the economic forces inherent within the flow of the broadcast. Building on this point, the producer stated:

> I guess as long as advertisers aren't restricting you or constraining you on what they want to see editorially, and in my experiences with TSN that has

> never happened, there are always things that you have to do. People are going to buy air time essentially on your network and they might want you to do a little feature for them or a vignette or something, but I've never had a time when I've thought I can't do this because a sponsor saying is don't do that. I was going to say it is a necessary evil, but it is not even a necessary evil, that's the way this industry is, sports need advertisers and vice versa (personal interview).

The economic context of production explains why some of the images and discourses seen and heard on the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts were chosen or rejected for broadcast and how this was reflected in the flow or the audio. The TSN crew were fully aware of the economic pressures upon production, however, they felt it did not compromise the integrity of the broadcasts. The crew felt advertising was as much a natural part of televised sport as the game itself. This is an interesting outlook. One of the weaknesses of a cultural studies approach according to Murdock and Golding (1991), is that it says little about the economic organization that impinges on the production. The analysis presented above was able to locate the boundaries of action by the production crew within the economic structure of the industry. This point is enhanced when one compares a TSN broadcast with a Fox broadcast. Due to the economic context of these productions, Fox utilizes production practices which TSN simply can not afford. That is, Fox can add more gravy practices such as having more "super slo-mo" cameras or "fancy" graphics. The executive producer at TSN alluded to the economic boundaries of the industry which constrained his actions:

> Another part of my job which I'm not crazy about is making sure that we are financially responsible, turning a profit, that our productions don't exceed what we can afford. I'd love to be able to produce a hockey game to the same level that Fox Sports can, but the reality is that while we are prepared, we are on the same converter dial they are on, they've got a ten times bigger market than we do and we simply can't afford all the bells and whistles that they can. I think that what we do best at TSN, probably amongst the best in the world, is that we are able to produce a product that is on a par, quality wise, with the Americans, maybe slightly less, but we do it for a lot less money (personal interview).

To summarize, it appears the economic context creates boundaries of action within which the production has to operate. This provides initial evidence in providing an answer for the research question concerned with the contexts of production (question two). Indeed, I am discussing a private industry which exists within capitalism. Therefore it is common sense to expect that the production would naturally reflect the economic organisation of sport within this system. I expand this line of reasoning when speculating about the ideological potential of these practices. Another area which forms boundaries within which the production team operates is the context of the audience.

5.5 - The TSN Viewer: "Go, Go, Go and All Those Flashes"

By the inclusion of the "gravy" the team felt they were able to "get you closer to the athletes," "give the viewer a reason to watch" or "bring the game into your living room." It is these ideas of story lines and "fancy footage" which the production team felt translated into making good television and satisfied the economic forces impinging upon production. Connected to the economic forces are the viewers, who are ostensibly a primary influence on the production (Jhally, 1984; 1989). Without the viewers there would be no advertising revenue, sponsors or actual broadcast. The discussion below focuses on the dialogue between the audience, the text and the production. Specifically, the audience philosophy at TSN for the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts is critically exposed. This is followed by an analysis of how this influenced the production practices of the crew. Attention is then turned to the perceived audience and their interaction (dialogue) with the text.

The most striking data to arise from this part of the research is the amount of credit given to the TSN audience by the production team. Rather than seeing the audience as a mass of cultural dupes who would accept any (symbolic) messages, the production team saw the audience as creative, active agents--skilled consumers. This is due to TSN's perception of their audience as knowledgable sports fans rather than channel surfers. This point was furthered for TSN soccer viewers who were described by the 'Reppe Shop', the audience division of Labatts Communications, as being "especially loyal." This principle is explained by the director of the Canada Cup broadcasts:

> I look for the well educated audience, I truly believe that TSN is special because we are a specialty network, the viewer is not ignorant, they are not an ignorant sports fan, which makes it even more difficult for us, because it is harder. You can snowball anybody into believing something, but we have hard nosed, you know all our soccer fans are soccer fans, they are not just channel surfing and say ooh look a soccer game, I wonder what this is all about. They tune in to watch, so you have to make sure your coverage is concise and knowledgable, and that's your talent, you have to make sure (expert and play by play commentators) know their stuff, know what they're talking about. As a producer and director you talk in their ear and say why don't you talk about this, and why don't you talk about that, or you show something and you ask them to talk about it, because we have a knowledgable fan, we don't just have a fan (personal interview).

The commentators were especially obdurate regarding this point. They stated their job was made harder because the "TSN viewer is a hard-nosed sports fan." This point was emphasized by the play-by-play announcer who stated:

> It's very hard to do. I don't think we give the viewer enough credit. We always assume that, the majority of people assume these people can be fooled. They can't, they're smart enough, they are watching, they know when you are trying to say something that isn't true (personal interview).

Due to the nature of TSN as a speciality sports cable channel, the production crew perceived their audience to be knowledgable sports fans. This observation contradicts the findings from the Sky Sports soccer coverage study. The executive producer at Sky, also a speciality sports network, stated that they tried as much as possible to open the sport to non-sports fans, who he described as 'women and children' (Silk, 1994). Perhaps this is due to the economic context impinging on the production, for like the Fox network, Sky has a larger potential market than TSN. Sky and Fox are both owned by Rupert Murdoch. Moreover, at the time of data collection with Sky Sports, the head of this division was David Hill, now head of Fox football. This has implications for the discussion of institutional practices, which I return to later. Attention is turned to how the dialogue with the audience influenced the production practices of the TSN crew who televised the Canada Cup of Soccer to provide an answer to question three.

In addition to the viewer being perceived as a knowledgable sports fan, TSN has a target audience. Again, this perception is tied to the audience commodity, in other words, TSN is aware of the advertising pressures on their broadcasts. Simplistically, the system works in the following way. The 'Reppe Shoppe' gathers audience demographics and figures from Nielsen and the human resources and marketing department. It then packages programmes for advertisers. Advertisers then purchase slots on a certain programme in hopes of delivering their product to the correct target group. From the information regarding the target audience, the programming department then makes decisions about network identity and suitability for individual shows. For TSN in general the target audience is:

> Males 18-49, and we want as many of those eyeballs watching us as we possibly can get, so if we have a choice between doing figure skating and football, we'll do football, where CBC and CTV do skating. We are not going to ignore the female, or the younger or older audience, but advertisers who are spending money with us want to reach males, and you'll see that in the way we programme that's who we want, and you'll see that within the programme in the way we edit. We're looking for a younger demographic, probably eighteen to thirty five is an ideal demographic, so you'll see our features being more fast-paced and high-powered, you'll see a lot of statistical information. You see a lot of men in that age group are into stats, you'll see us move from one event to the next very quickly, most men in that age group need faster and quicker, so we try and keep them occupied, we have to be aware of our audience. No matter what you are in, if you are not aware of who your client is you are going to go out of business very quickly (executive producer, personal interview).

The executive producer hinted at some of the production practices employed to achieve a show which will appeal to the right demographic, thus satisfying the network's economic requirements. The 'Reppe Shoppe' figures for Soccer Saturday, the weekly highlights programme on TSN, show a high demographic of 25-39 year olds of which 81% are male, most of whom have an income of over $30,000. However, the producer and director perceive the audience for the live broadcasts to be different. This is due to soccer in Canada being identified by the network as a fringe sport. Soccer in Canada is played by both males and females, perhaps more so than hockey, football and baseball. This reality affects how the director of the broadcasts determined her target audience for Canadian soccer:

> I do fringe sports, I don't do hard core sports like hockey, football, and baseball, so I do soccer, volleyball, field hockey. I truly see it as both male and female viewers, especially for soccer because a lot of young girls and women play soccer, or have played soccer. It was one of their high school sports, so as a result they know the game, and they watch the game, so that's what I think, but I still think it is a young audience, Canadian soccer is a young audience, but when I do Soccer Saturday though I'm looking at a male, British audience, that's the reality of it (Director, personal interview).

Clearly there is a conscious intent by the production team to make the soccer broadcasts accessible to both male and female knowledgable viewers. This point informs the study in number of ways. Whannel (1992) suggested that commentary is often fused by television producers into the "male expert" and "female novice." That is, the commentator talks to a male viewer as if he knows the sport and a female viewer as if she needs more information about the sport and the performer, team or star. Whannel (1992) supported this statement with evidence from the English context. However, close investigation of the production of soccer in the Canadian cultural context elicits different conclusions than those espoused by Whannel. Soccer has distinct meanings in different cultures. Rather than constructing this fusion between male expert and female novice the main concern of the soccer production team was to tailor the broadcast for viewers in the 25-39 age range. In this case, Whannel's (1992) generalisation about commentators does not stand up. Furthermore, the production practices alluded to above such as fast-paced editing are employed to attract this specific audience. The director, whose job it is to order the switches and control the flow of the game segment, stated:

> It has to be a little more funky . . . so we got more cameras, we brought them lower, so it is a much younger, a much faster and younger, I don't know if the traditionalist likes it, I think the younger viewer likes it, whether the traditionalist thinks it's too many cuts, I have a feeling they might, but I know to keep the young audience, who grew up on video games, channel surfing and the go, go, go and all these flashes that if you stayed on camera two the whole game, back and forth, I'm sure they'd be bored (personal interview).

The Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts were strongly influenced by the perception that the audience was a younger audience. This belief is supported by the audience figures outlined in Appendix B. The figures are split into the actual audience figures, which is the average for any one minute. Thus, for game one, the number of viewers in the 18-49 age range is considerably higher than those for any other age group. The second set of figures is the number the programme actually reached (The 'TSN Reach'). For broadcast one this was 350,000, for broadcast two 262,000 and for the third broadcast 400,000. These figures were just for the 18-49 age group, a much higher percentage than any other group. Further, these figures were just for males in this age group. When pressed, the audience division explained they normally only collect figures for the male viewer, "after all that's what we're interested in."

In addition to these audience figures, a breakdown of the text through a shot-by-shot analysis was conducted for each broadcast. This textual analysis showed that over five hundred different shots were used in each game, most of which were in the bread, butter and gravy pattern alluded to earlier. This confirms the quick editing pattern described by the producer which is used to please a younger audience.

To summarize this section, it is evident that the percieved audience has an effect on the decisions made concerning which programmes to show. More specifically, the perceived audience, that is the one sold in a package to the advertisers, has a potentially significant effect on the images and discourse selected for broadcasting. Close shots were chosen, quick editing patterns employed, more cameras used. This conscious effort by the production team can be seen as a dialogue between the production crew and the audience. Scholars to date have tended to see televised sport as a unidirectional process which involves the production crew choosing images for consumption by the masses (e.g. Blain et al., 1993). A close examination of these practices shows how the audience along with the economic nexus, an extremely important influence in the choice of image and discourse. Ultimately, this arrangement has implications for the ideological potential of these practices. The practices used to satisfy these forces can be interpreted as being laden with symbolic meaning, thus having a *potential* ideological impact on the audience. Before speculating on the symbolism in the broadcasts, it is important to consider other forces influencing the broadcasts. In addition to the audience commodity the craft pride of the production crew are discussed to determine their role in shaping production and provide answers to question three.

5.6 - Symbolism, Social Engineering and Craft Pride: It's Nothing Unless It Translates Into Good Television

After considering the manifest functions of the broadcasters I am in a position to comment on the craft pride of the production team. Rather than any conscious construction of symbolism or social engineering, the 'TSN team' felt they owed the viewer the principle aesthetic of the game, the bread and butter shot--following the ball. As outlined above, this is not to say that the broadcast is a transparent reflection of the game itself. While political economy reminds us of these fiscal barriers which constrain and offer opportunities for the production of soccer on TSN, the cultural studies field reminds us that we live, create and interpret these messages (Meehan, 1994). While the manifest function of the crew may be to satisfy these economic forces, scholars must be cognizant of how these practices are linked to the ideological dimension of the process. As stated in the review of literature, ideology, as seen from a cultural studies perspective is the site of everyday struggle where everyday practices are taken for granted and appear natural and consistent with cultural experience (Young, 1991). Thus, the practices engaged in by the TSN production team can be seen as natural, everyday, cultural experiences. Practices such as the use of close-ups are discussed later in the chapter, however, those reflecting the economic pressures are most relevant here. As Blain et al. (1993) stated, media sport discourses do not simply serve to enhance the commodity value of the product, they also sustain systems of domination (Blain et al., 1993). Through the practices employed, the economic nexus of our society is supported and sustained as a natural part of everyday life. For example, for the production team it appeared natural, even cultural, to have a turning point sponsored by a major corporation. Without commenting on alternative readings of these messages, it can be stated that this affirmation reinforces capitalist ideology and tacitly justifies the existing pattern of economic organization. Furthermore, a tentative conclusion is proffered which supports Sage's (1990) postulation that the dominant economic class is able to exert an indirect influence on the mass media through advertising. This results in the media/sport/advertising fusion discussed above and is seen within the production and the text of the TSN soccer broadcasts. Hence, the economic elite's capitalist ideologies become synthesized within the broadcasts, perhaps indirectly guiding viewers and supporting their hegemonic position. As Whannel (1983) propounded, the TSN broadcast offered the viewer a way of seeing the world, one culturally bound with economic ideologies, which makes that specific form of social organization seem natural and inevitable. This is not an intentional attempt at forwarding capitalist ideology, rather a latent function of the desire to carry through a theme in the guise of a story and provide a show that satisfies the economic exigencies of production. I am in agreement with Gruneau (1989a), who concluded that production:

> Involves an active process of marginalizing, downgrading, or deligitimizing potentially alternative explanations. This is not done through some finely tuned process of political socialization on the part of the production crew: rather it simply reflects the routine acceptance of discourse in production viewed as necessary to the making of good television (p.151 - 152).

Further, Gruneau (1989a) surmised that the production of shows such as the CBC Whistler downhill produced a form of sport ideally suited to a capitalist consumer culture. This is a conclusion which the data in this study supports. The part of this nexus yet to be considered is the audience. The viewer obviously plays a large part in this audience commodity, however, there has been little scholarly investigation into exactly what impact that has on the production process. Certainly, the notions of story line and the bread, butter and gravy practices are implicit here, however, observations of the production process, interviews with the actors involved and comparisons with the text all proffer data which support and enhance some of the above conclusions, and in some cases contradicts previous studies. For the most part the focus was the continuing action. However, there was a strong feeling among the crew that this was trifling unless you translated the broadcast into what is appropriate for good television. For example, a replay of a key incident or a close-up or graphic of a player was considered to be more important than a goal kick or on one occasion, a corner. The executive producer, producer and director were extremely proud of these practices. They receive regular feedback through debriefing sessions at the head office. The executive producer stated that one of the main roles he played at the network was to help a producer or a director improve each time they went to air. Stoddart's (1994) ethnography of televised golf production introduced the notion of craft pride. Specifically, Stoddart (1994) postulated the golf production was "underwritten by craft pride, a point little in evidence in the extant literature" (p.80). In support of Stoddart (1994), it appears from initial observations of TSN soccer production that the team were very concerned about translating the game into good television. This is mainly out of respect for their audience (of course linked to the economic forces impinging on this relationship) and an expressed concern for presenting this audience with what they consider to be good television. This principle of craft pride was reflected throughout the observations and production. The local crew were fully cognizant of the TSN crew's desire to create a show to which they were proud to put their names. The floor director spoke of how this philosophy gets passed on to a new crew member. From their perspective, the local crew felt it necessary to follow the instructions regarding who to focus on and, perhaps more importantly, to make sure everything is "clean" and "flows." Thus, the floor director's perception of the crew's manifest function centred around craft pride. Specifically, he stated:

> They want to get the best product possible on the air. Everybody is looking out for each other and everyone tries to help each other. If there is a new guy on the crew we'll sit down with them and tell them this is what to expect, this is what is probably going to happen, this is what this particular producer likes (personal interview).

This notion of craft pride was also observed in the interaction between the production truck personnel and the head office. The opening tease for the final show was, according to both the producer and director, "the best we've ever done." Considerable time was spent on this opening, as was stated in the general conventions section. However, due to the Toronto Blue Jays game running over time the head office decided to stay with baseball rather than going to soccer at the scheduled time. The crew were extremely disappointed that the pre-game segment did not go to air, and that the opening tease would not go to air in an additional viewing. Thus, rather than conscious symbolic construction being the driving force behind image and discourse selection, craft pride plays a more important part than has been acknowledged by scholars.

Decisions made concerning what to choose for broadcast appeared to be decentralised, that is, there was little overt central control over these decisions. The production team had autonomy in the choice of bread, butter and gravy shots. However, closer examination of the production practices suggest alternative explanations for the way in which the Canada Cup became textualised. As stated, Stoddart (1994) raised the notion that the images which appeared for the viewing public were not dictated and dictatorial. Rather there appeared to be a great deal of autonomy for the agents involved in the production. In terms of craft pride, this notion received support and like Stoddart (1994), even this simplistic level casts doubt on the pronouncements of scholars who see televised sport as an institution operating under economic pressures and deliberately promoting the hegemonic agenda. However, Stoddart (1994), whilst bringing these important insights and issues to the agenda, paid little attention to the context in which the production occurred. I have already mentioned the considerable impact that the perceived audience, the economic context and the story line can have on production. Furthermore, examination must be made of the historical and political context surrounding the production to extend the answer to question two.

PART TWO: PRESSURES IMPINGING ON THE CANADA CUP PRODUCTION

5.7 - The Bumpy Route to the World Cup: The Historical and Political Context of TSN Soccer Coverage

The Action Canada Sports Network, later renamed TSN, was established in 1984 as part of the vast Labatt's empire. The license for broadcast was granted by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) with a number of conditions. These conditions affect TSN's operations and indirectly their production personnel. The CRTC was concerned that the licensee (TSN) cover sports of a narrower broadcast appeal, thus limiting direct competition with networks who already carried major sporting events (CRTC, 1984). This is a condition which TSN has adhered to, as Jim Thompson CEO of TSN stated, "we succeeded by purchasing what conventional TV was not interested in and creating a market for it" (Christie, 1994).

A further condition of the license approval was TSN's commitment to both quality and quantity of Canadian programming (CRTC, 1984; 1989). The license was granted on the condition that TSN direct 70% of total programme expenditure to the acquisition of or investment in Canadian programming, resulting in a minimum quota of 50% Canadian content over a 24 hour broadcast day (CRTC, 1984; 1989). Stoddart (1994) pointed to the reasoning behind how golf became part of ABC's coverage. The conclusions golf was produced not to only satisfy economic and social forces casts doubt on the dominant views of the relationship between sport and television. These dominant views are those discussed previously, particularly the arguments developed by Whannel (1986; 1992) and Jhally (1984) as they chronologically outline how the sports/media complex has become commodity-oriented. That is, the way in which the audience becomes a commodity to be traded to advertisers. My observations and interview data indicates how TSN is driven by these economic forces. However, when further examination is made of the operation of TSN and how this economic organization impinges on the production (of meaning) (Murdock & Golding, 1991) questions arise concerning this audience-commodity paradigm.

Televised soccer on TSN did not originally develop as a self conscious exercise in social engineering (see Stoddart, 1994) or as a player in the audience commodity. Rather, soccer was covered as a commitment to "helping an amateur, semi-professional sport get off its feet in Canada" (producer). Historically, soccer did not draw large audiences when coverage was given to every single game in the (now extinct) Canadian Soccer League which "lost the network money" (commentator). When pressed as to why the network continued covering a sport which was losing money, there was a strong feeling amongst the production team that TSN had a commitment to cover minority sports. This obligation is part of the licensing agreements TSN made with the CRTC. The necessity of covering soccer was revealed in an informal discussion with the expert commentator. Specifically, he stated that soccer is covered on TSN "because we are a sports channel, and sports is tractor pulling, it's mountaineering and it's soccer" (commentator, personal interview).

Covering soccer may be a profitable venture in the long run. The executive producer placed considerable emphasis on the notion of sticking with the game until you get the payoff. This payoff was the 1994 World Cup in the US, and the executive producer's views were strongly supported by a member of the commentary team, "You commit now . . . that route is bumpy, but the payoff is doing the World Cup . . . but you have committed to the CSA and then they back you for the bid for the World Cup rights." However, the promotional machine which appears once every four years disappears in between, and the coverage is back on 'the bumpy route'. Thus, for soccer on TSN, the generalizability of the dominant view of the relationship between sport and television is questioned. This notion is well summarised by the producer of soccer at TSN. When asked why the network would cover soccer if it was not profitable, he stated:

> TSN I think was into that type of commitment based on being involved with the sport and helping an amateur, semi-professional league get going and then sticking with it. It wasn't drawing big numbers, soccer traditionally has a small and loyal audience, so that's the way soccer evolved. Then you get into the World Cup and your audience becomes bigger and then in 1994 in the U.S., games are being played in Eastern Time zones, then that was good for numbers. I believe audience numbers were double what they were in 1990 (Italy). So then, we did well with sales too, eight billboard sponsors for (the)1994 (World Cup), so that's good for the game (personal interview).

Televised soccer on TSN appears to have developed from a commitment to the sport in Canada. This finding suggests that the dominant relationship between sport and television be subjected to closer cultural analysis in different settings. The TSN team seem fully cognizant of the fact that soccer is covered because of a commitment to the CRTC license. Soccer is seen as a way to conform to the standards set out in this licence by providing narrowcast Canadian programming. It was stated earlier by the executive producer, that without regulatory constraints, he would prefer showing sports which bring in greater revenue. The CRTC license, as a political directive, is one force acting on TSN to profile and bolster Canadian sport. Soccer would probably not be covered, at least to the same extent, if it were not for these binding agreements. Thus, the CRTC licence is one way the Canadian government maintains indirect control over the programmes which go to air. This notion is furthered when one considers the content within the programmes. The licence clearly states that at least 50% of the broadcast day must be Canadian content. The game not involving the Canadian national team at the tournament drew heavily upon Canadian content. The crew explained this as a commitment to keeping up the story line. Thus, while the game continued, the Canadian national team coach, Bob Lenarduzzi, was shown being interviewed. Pre, half, and post-game shows abounded with Canadian content (stars abroad, Peschisolido's birthday) in an attempt to promote the next game and develop the story line. Another influence on the development of the story line was the philosophy of the network producing the games, TSN.

5.8 - "It's not brain surgery . . . it's television": Careers and Philosophies at TSN

An analysis of TSN's organisational culture was not the primary purpose of the thesis. No claims are made that an industry's culture can adequately be assessed by the methodology used in this study. While the methods used may or may not be appropriate, the time scale employed could not possibly reveal the facets of the culture or cultures within the organization. However, drawing upon the interview data, observations, an historical and political analysis of TSN, and Spark's (1988) assessment of the TSN culture, I contend that what is known about TSN's culture has a significant impact on the actions of the production team. Part of the culture at TSN is the philosophy which guides soccer production. As noted earlier, the general conventions of soccer production at TSN are mainly the bread, butter and gravy practices directed toward the younger viewer in an attempt to deliver the audience to the advertiser. This common philosophy was mentioned by the director and seemed to be understood by the production team as it guided their choice of images and discourse for broadcast.

The director recalled a meeting between herself and the executive producer where they talked about philosophies, what made good television, and how the broadcast could be improved:

> Before I started directing soccer, Scott and I sat down and talked about philosophy. He's not the biggest soccer fan in the world but he has become one, and directed a game himself and he did a hell of a job. He now has an appreciation of the sport, so we sat down and talked philosophies and we talked about what we wanted to see, what makes good television, and how we can make the game better. So if I ever got any direction, then I would have gotten it a couple of years ago and it still applied for the Canada Cup, and it was from Scott, the executive producer, you know, and he's a very hands on Executive Producer. At most places that wouldn't happen, but because he is interested in directing as well, he makes sure we're on the same level (personal interview).

The executive producer of TSN was interested in passing on his approach to the director of the broadcast. I questioned the executive producer about his influence on the production personnel of the Canada Cup of soccer. He replied:

> Well, I'd like to think I do, otherwise I'm not doing my job, I have an influence on what commentators we hire, what producers get assigned to games, getting down to . . . we have a weekly meeting with all our production units, that we talk about what story lines we are going to follow each week, on various programmes. For example we sit down every Friday at 11.30 or so and plan the week, we talked just today about . . . we have a hockey show which goes Saturday nights at 7.30 before Hockey Night in Canada, previewing the weekend of hockey, we look at what the story lines are in hockey that night, Philadelphia is playing Pittsburgh, Mario Lemieux vs Eric Lindros, so we decide let's be live from Pittsburgh. So we send a crew to Pittsburgh, what story angle shall we take on it, getting from that detail to the broad strokes of what is our philosophy on covering soccer. So there's a wide range of stuff I can influence, but obviously you can't influence and be involved in every production you can do . . . it's real fun what you can influence, like tomorrow I'm going to a football game in Kingston because we have a rookie commentator and director and I'll work with them to make sure they're better this week than they were last week and that next week they are better than that. I help them come up with systems and ways to tell stories and how we cover the game hopefully better than anyone else in the country (personal interview).

At this point in the interview, concern was directed toward possible influences on the executive producer from upper management. While upper management were "dedicated and interested" in the product as a whole, the executive producer, as head of the programming department, had a free rein in his role. It is in this capacity that the executive producer can further influence a producer and director. After the Canada Cup of Soccer, the producer and director had to complete questionnaires concerning their perception of the event, the local crew's performance and provide recommendations for future broadcasts. The production team then met to discuss their overall performance. In the words of the producer:

> It is more of a concern about the whole, he cares about, his responsibility is all the shows. Like your question then was about an opening to one specific show, he wouldn't be concerned about what goes into the opening, but the entire show he would take the tapes and go through them and go through them with the producer and director and say I thought this was very good when you went through this particular replay sequence or showing the commentator from Chile was a good idea and then he might say well why did you use this replay, and there was an offside call late in the game and you didn't show a replay of it, so it is more of this general concern, and commentator performance, did they do a good job, and the role of the crew, how was the crew, did the switcher do a good job, did the tape operator do a good job. We actually now fill out reports after every game, producers fill out producers reports after every event, and this takes five or ten minutes, critiquing how the show went and feedback on how the crew did the audio do a good job, how are the tape operators doing (personal interview).

The executive producer had more of an indirect influence on the Canada Cup of Soccer. Prior to the broadcast the philosophy of soccer production was determined and maintained by the feedback and meetings after each production. The question remains however, did this philosophy of soccer coverage have any effect on the production of the Canada Cup of Soccer? That is, did the producer and director, as the key actors in the production, follow the philosophy set out by the executive producer? To answer this question one needs to compare the data resulting from the text with the actual philosophy set out by the executive producer. Spark's (1988) analysis of the culture of TSN suggested that the network was interested in "Delivering the Male." That is, TSN's culture is specific to serving its predetermined target audience. Sparks (1988) also claimed that this audience commodity influences staff recruitment. The executive producer admitted that his philosophy is reflected in the programming department's philosophy, the commentators and staff hired, the assignment of producers to games and the story lines to follow. These story lines are constructed each week at a meeting with all the production units. Staff recruitment and assignment of personnel is influenced by the audience commodity and this commodity has become broadly institutionalised at TSN. However, did this philosophy have a direct effect on the actions of the Canada Cup of Soccer production team? At this juncture it is relevant to analyse the career patterns of these key actors. The director and producer had been at TSN since the network's inception. Both worked their way through the ranks of the network. Both actors followed similar paths, graduating from university in film and television specialities. In the words of the director:

> From there (University), I was always interested in sport, and then I got a job at Channel 47, a local TV station, a multilingual station, and we used to do soccer there with (name), he was my boss and was really into soccer, so he sprung up . . . made this soccer show out of nothing, so I worked with him as a production assistant. So, when TSN opened, he sold his idea to TSN, and he brought him, me and one other to TSN, so I came here as production assistant, on Sportsdesk, not within programming shows, and then from there I became director, that's like a natural progression from production assistant, somebody quit and I was sort of in line for it, and then as Sportsdesk director for four years, plus my niche has always been soccer, I have always worked on the soccer shows in one way or another, then the next step was to direct it, actually the first thing was I got to produce the U16 World Cup in 1986, because we were short of producers and we were providing the world feed, it was fun and that was how it all started (personal interview).

The production team are well socialised members of the network's philosophy. Clearly these staff members have helped form this organizational philosophy because many of them have been there since the network went on air. Of interest here is the role this philosophy has on the production team and the product they generate, the broadcast. Insight can be gained here by taking an intraorganizational perspective to help bring meaning to these influences. That is, do the "institutional procedures," or value systems embodied in an organization at the operational level (TSN philosophies for soccer production), structure and influence an individual's decision making? In the context of TSN soccer productions, do the institutional procedures constrain the producer and director in making their choices in production? The producer and director are socialised members of the organization, a fact supported by their career patterns. In addition, the institutional procedures (the bread, butter and gravy practices--such as getting as tight as you can, fast editing, getting low and close and picking out personalities) restricted the actors in the decision arena. Instead of freely choosing between shots, audio and graphics the producer and director were constrained by institutional pressures. It is debatable whether and to what extent these processes operate at the subconscious level (see Buscombe, 1975), however, both the producer and director were open about the type of shots they chose and their reasons for doing so.

This discussion challenges the role of human agency in terms of image creation in sports telecasts as decisions about what to put on air are governed by a code which is deeply rooted in TSN's philosophy. This finding contradicts the account given by Stoddart (1994) in his analysis of televised golf. I recognize this was in a different cultural setting and with a different network, yet Stoddart's (1994) study did not attend to such intraorganizational pressures. Consequently, the role attributed to human agency in the production should be analysed in terms of both the internal and external forces impinging upon that agency, rather than just observing the production process. These influences are not readily observable, but when analysed in conjunction with the game tapes and interview data it is apparent that there were pressures and influences constraining the human agency in the Canada Cup Production. To elucidate, attention is turned to the exact practices which impinged upon the Canada Cup broadcasts from an intraorganizational perspective.

Despite the fact that the producer and director had been with TSN since the outset, the philosophy undergirding TSN soccer coverage changed drastically just before the 1994 World Cup. This change was initiated by the executive producer after viewing the style used by other networks in their soccer coverage. On this point, the executive producer stated:

> Before the World Cup we had a number of European countries over here for training and were responsible for providing the feed. We decided, I decided, to take a very non-American view of coverage, but the Americans will tell you that if you are coming into our country then you will cover soccer the way we think it should be done and we'll give it to you. I've been lucky enough to have been exposed to several Olympic games where the Olympic organizers have said they'll bring you the best in the world in terms of coverage, so we had the Germans over to show us how they'd like to have us cover it. I learned a lot from that and we changed our coverage a little bit. The Germans gave us some ideas so we started covering it like a soccer game, not a hockey game, I think our coverage improved a great deal, we used to have our cameras, camera positions were fairly conservative, we put cameras down on field level at the sixteen metre mark. I think we were able to show the speed and finesse of the game a bit better and maybe the best thing for me was May last year in Edmonton, I was able to go down on the field and see the game from behind the net, see the real skill of players like Romario, and I got a little turned on to the game, so I'm a big fan now, and I push for it here (personal interview).

This change in philosophy was passed down to the director and producer in a meeting before the 1994 World Cup. From the director's and producer's previously cited comments it was clear they had accepted this new philosophy. Specifically for soccer, the director explained how the executive producer had replicated the German and Italian network's practices of using more cameras, tighter action and more cuts. Indeed, the gravy practices which the director alluded to are now the standard TSN approach to producing soccer broadcasts. Thus, the executive producer's directives were clearly evident in the text. In other words, the bread, butter and gravy philosophy was directly appropriated in the text as the bread, butter and gravy conventions of coverage. So far I have concentrated on the TSN personnel, specifically the key actors in the creation of images and discourse--the producer and director.

I now turn to the human agency potential of the local production crew. Stoddart (1994) outlined how camera personnel knew how to pick the right shot. This notion can be explored in two ways. First, the local crew were given specific instructions at the beginning of each day, reflecting on their previous performance. In addition, they were directed to provide only bread, butter and gravy shots. Second, they were informed exactly what these gravy shots should be and what faces to shoot. This strategy was reinforced throughout the broadcast over the headset communication between the director and the camera operators. Furthermore, the floor director was concerned about doing a "seamless job." It was his responsibility to initiate new members of this crew by telling them what each director and producer wanted to see.

The notion that there is a great deal of agency on the part of the local crew is challenged. The floor director spent considerable time informing the crew of what this specific director and producer wanted to see and hear. Gruneau (1989b) suggested that crew practices reflect a routine acceptance of what the industry perceives as being good television. Perhaps the crew in the case studied by Stoddart (1994) were conforming to interorganizational pressures, that is those pressures within the television industry as a whole, rather than just one network. This possibility raises even more questions about the role of human agency in this production. Stoddart (1994) paid little attention to the impact these pressures may have on the production of televised sport, particularly the agency of the key actors in the decision making arena. Attention is now turned to these external pressures, which I term interorganizational pressures upon the production of the Canada Cup of Soccer.

5.9 - The "Cognitive Televised Sport Community": Interorganizational Pressures On the Canada Cup of Soccer Production

Gaining the rights to broadcast the World Cup was the most important influence on the coverage of the Canada Cup broadcasts. With the World Cup taking place in 1994 in the USA, TSN realised soccer was going to be exposed to a huge audience. TSN reacted to the changing environment by altering the way soccer was broadcast on the network. As outlined above, the network invited a German network to show TSN how they covered the game. By adopting the German style of coverage the executive producer believed they moved from a fairly conservative broadcast to one where they could now show the speed and finesse of the game.

TSN clearly modelled its coverage on that of its European counterparts, an observation consistent with my observations of the production of soccer with Sky Sports in England. Modelling coverage on the practices of another network has clear implications for the discussion of the homogenisation of sport delivery systems. Stoddart (1994) contended that the television system becomes homogenised, that is, the dominant analytical mode concerning the sport/television nexus assumes there is a consensus about what images represent symbolically and that this view crosses all barriers between telecasting systems, personnel, and international boundaries. While there are different cultural, political and economic influences operating on soccer production in England as compared to Canada, there is evidence for the view that the production processes across networks are similar and that this homogenisation of the television system constrains the choices the producer and director can freely make. Since no scholarly work has examined these interorganizational pressures analysis must be linked with what has been about shared media practices. In addition, by drawing on socio-cognitive phenomena, scholars can begin to understand the role these pressures play on the actors in the televised sport decision making arena.

Using socio-cognitive concepts such as shared mental representations and language amongst firms, Porac and his associates (1989a; 1989b; 1994; 1995) showed how mental models used by decision makers were implicit in interpreting their task environment. As outlined in the review, this actor-centred perspective theorizes how industry models have become part of the macro-cultural belief system of industry participants. These actors use collective representations to solve everyday decision problems (Porac et al., 1995). Simplistically stated, are there any codes of practice within the televised sport industry as a whole which are a reference system for actors in production decisions? In other words, this perspective seeks to determine if there are any shared assumptions amongst the industry--the "cognitive televised sport community"--and, if so, how they may be influencing the actors (producer/director) decision making.

There is an assumption amongst the television delivery system that there is one correct way to cover soccer. It was demonstrated in the literature review that there are commonalities among sport telecasting systems. The examples of David Hill bringing his professional ideologies from Sky to Fox and his homage to the practices of Roone Arledge show the link between company's production practices. The early work of Buscombe and associates (1975) suggested that many decisions are made subconsciously in relation to a code, that is a code which creates good television. TSN conformed to this belief when it modelled its coverage on the German network. This interorganizational perspective, which may be termed "cognitive collectiveness" amongst personnel is particularly relevant for analyzing televised sport. Gruneau (1989b) posited a similar concept in his discussion of the practices which guided the broadcast by the CBC of the Whistler downhill. The practices engaged in by the crew reflected the routine acceptance of the discourse in production viewed as necessary to the making of good television.

TSN is bound by its licensing arrangements to use a number of freelance producers and directors (CRTC, 1984), a commonality amongst television networks (Tunstall, 1993). For freelance producers and directors to blend into an organization, the systems have to be familiar. This contention was supported by the associate producer, a freelancer, who emphasized that "to make an introduction which translates to good television," is the same whichever company she works for. The executive producer concurred when he noted that his philosophy had carried across all the networks he had worked for (NBC, CBC, CTV, ESPN, ABC). The production of the Canada Cup also conformed to these conventions. The director reinforced the position that her main guiding convention was the bread, butter and gravy shots, thus conforming to the dominant conventions in soccer production. In addition, the director felt that you could add too much 'gravy' which makes the broadcast too disjointed for the viewer. For example, when play is taking place in a certain part of the field, the production team's options are limited due to the traditional high and wide halfway camera visual convention, which Whannel (1992) outlined as the "correct" way to cover soccer. Whether or not such practices are consciously employed or whether they are part of the macro-belief system of personnel or even if they are employed subconsciously could not be determined by this investigation. However, it does seem reasonable to state that the director's and producer's choices of camera angles are constrained by various social, economic and historical considerations.

Rather than having an open choice of shots and discourses to use on the soccer telecasts, the director and producer were constrained by the "correct" way of doing things (institutional wisdom), which is linked to the history of TSN, and to practices of the "cognitive television community" itself. Further, it can be seen how these powerful collective influences on the agency of the production team are coupled with the production team's notion of craft pride, which ultimately forms a web of interrelations with the audience. These inter and intraorganizational pressures can be seen as an underlying code which constricts the production team's options. Thus, in the fast-cutting, quick-paced world of televised sport, decisions which may never have been made before, such as choosing a replay of a goal from a "goalcam" over the continuing game, are made according to a basic logic or structure. That is, decisions in this arena are made in accordance with the network's culture, philosophy, and the 'correct way' prescribed by the industry. This finding calls into question the amount of human agency which Stoddart accorded production crews in televised sport. Stoddart's (1994) postulation that the images and discourse were freely chosen, consensual, and negotiated and involved a great deal of autonomy is not supported by this study. These discourses obviously deserve more empirical investigation in different cultural settings and with different networks. Furthermore, this debate ultimately throws open the discourses concerning the homogeneity of sport delivery systems, a concept explored further in tandem with globalization.

5.10 - The Global Village and the Limitations of the World Feed

Maguire (1993) maintained that research on the media and sport should be sensitive to global issues. Until now academic research on globalism and the media/sport production complex has focussed on the role of television in imperialism, cultural homogenisation or exchanges, the ideological consequences of multinational media, notions of Americanization, Europeanization, and local needs in the face of globalizing tendencies (cf. Blain et al., 1993; Caruguti, 1995; Maguire, 1993, Williams, 1994). Maguire (1993) alluded to how the use of production practices by media personnel served to increase the marketable values of sport in the global marketplace. The observations and interviews from this study suggest an alternative explanation.

Rather than promoting a specific cultural form over another (Maguire, 1993), the TSN production team were cognizant of the Canada Cup soccer broadcasts being carried on a global feed. Games were seen live in both Chile and Northern Ireland as well as in Canada. All the agents felt this global feed restricted their actions in the production. First, far from being able to enhance the excitement and spectacle of the game, the world feed constrained the use of graphics, headshots, statistics and chyrons. As the director stated, "the world feed becomes more important . . . the bottom line really is that there are not many TSN viewers for these games." The producer explained exactly how the production was constrained.

> In a world feed, you're very limited and restricted in the decisions you can make . . . you can't put in headshots, statistics and full page chyrons. In a soccer world feed, you can't do that, you are not only catering to your own audience, but those in South America, Asia, Europe . . . these extras are in English so the production would become meaningless to them (personal interview).

The producer elaborated on the actual practices that can not be used on a world feed. My textual analysis confirmed that these practices were absent in the telecasts. He described the constraints as follows:

> In terms of soccer, especially when you are looking at the type of games you were looking at, the production of a world feed, you're very restricted. This relates back to what you were asking about what type of things you do to make it interesting. You are not just going to cover the game, in a world feed, you are limited, even doing that stuff with the commentator and showing Bob Lenarduzzi, some people might be looking at that and going well who's Bob Lenarduzzi, if you can't hear Vic. Generally in a world feed you are more restricted (personal interview).

The textual data revealed that there were as many close-ups of Chilean and Irish players and fans as Canadian. During one game, the director cut away from the continuing game to the Chilean commentary team on several occasions. When pressed on this issue, the director and producer both explained that you have to be equitable and fair, in an attempt to make it interesting to all viewers, those in the home country and those watching the world feed.

There appeared to be no intentional or conscious attempt on the part of the production team to present one particular cultural form over another. The crew's objective in using this type of editing was to show Canadian viewers how important this game was for the Chileans and to begin constructing a story line for the final broadcast. The global context constrained the production team's effort to make good television, thus challenging the notion of the construction of national identity or the homogenisation of culture. This finding adds another dimension to consider in the dominant view concerning television and sport. That is, the global context of each production must be taken into account when interpreting the way television produces sport. It appears that the production team is constrained in choosing certain images and using certain gravy practices due to the global audience. The global nature of the telecast constrained the agency of the TSN production team from making choices about the technical aspect of the broadcast based on their professional training and intuitions.

An alternative reading puts a different slant on the above critique. The manifest function of the team was to create a story line which in addition to promoting the importance of the game for the Chileans, attempted to hype the Canadian team's final game. Consequently, while the game between Chile and Northern Ireland continued, the viewer saw shots of the Canadian national team head coach and discourse centering on Canadian themes rather than the ongoing game. When asked why this peripheral activity was considered more important than the game, the director commented:

> One of the reasons we cut away to the commentators is that people can see Raul and gives him a chance to say hi and I'm here and I'm not in a voice-over booth, voicing-over in Chile, as there was a world feed, predominantly for Chile and it gives Vic a chance to say that this is a big game for Chile, and here is this man from the Chilean TV network, and for him it gives him a chance to say yeah I'm here, he was waving at us, and his TV audience was arguably larger than ours. I mean you know, it gives us a little more pace, built-up the next Canada game, the final and to our viewers it is interesting for them if they can see the announcer and if we can cut away to Bob Lenarduzzi, then they know that it is not a game that no one cares about because Bob is there scouting, they face Chile on Sunday, it is

probably better TV that way (personal interview).

The pre, post and half-time shows were laden with this Canadian subtext even though the production team were fully cognizant that the majority of the audience for this broadcast might not be Canadian. As the director explicitly stated:

> You see with the way we provide these soccer feeds it's really tough because you want to make it the best possible show for the Canadian viewers, but the bottom line is there's going to be more people around the world watching than there is in Canada, so who is really your audience, you know, is it your loyal TSN sports fans who will watch Team Canada play or is it your crazy Chilean or Turkey fans. The bottom line really is that there aren't many TSN viewers for those games, it is more the world feed that we provide, so I think at that point that becomes more important, just because we have become contracted out to provide that service you know for the CSA, so we have to make the CSA look good and say you know we know how to shoot a good soccer game, so you have to split the difference between who's your audience, keeping in mind that at that point the international audience is more important, that's why we can't put statistics in, or full page graphics, because it is in English (personal interview).

The TSN production team's desire to create a story meant that there were dual contradictory processes at work which were pushing and pulling the production in different ways. Future empirical work should examine the effect of these new audience conditions on the production crew's manifest functions. One of the most important findings of this research is that this global context can limit a production team's intentions which has implications for the latent meanings of that broadcast.

PART THREE: UNCOVERING THE LATENT MEANINGS IN THE CANADA CUP OF SOCCER PRODUCTIONS

It is clear from the data analysis that the manifest function of the production team was to create a story line which offered points of identification for viewers . This storyline was embellished through use of the bread, butter and gravy practices which supposedly enhance the commodity value of the sport. As stated by the executive producer, the aim of the production is to tell stories about the people they are broadcasting to create an emotional attachment between the viewers and the people on the screen. The bread, butter and gravy practices achieve this by personalizing individual players, thus giving the viewer an opportunity to see how these important players are doing. Through the use of close-up shots, statistics, and the other 'gravy' practices in the game and non-game segments of the broadcast, the flow is maintained and the broadcaster's manifest function is realized.

However, it can be interpreted that these practices produce images and discourses which have symbolic meaning. It may have been the manifest--conscious--attempt of the production crew to create the story line. Yet, the broadcaster's manifest function serves not only to enhance the commodity value of the production, to satisfy audience and advertiser demands; it may also sustain systems of organisation (Blain et al., 1993). That is, the story line, close-ups, "natural" economic content and personalization in the broadcast convey messages containing symbolic content. This could offer the viewer a way of seeing the world that reinforces capitalism and makes our form of social (and economic) organization seem natural and inevitable (Whannel, 1983). In terms of the Canada Cup of Soccer production, the following sections discuss possible symbolic meanings which result from the everyday production practices. Specifically, analysis and discussion centres on the latent meanings within the text speculating that these meanings might offer the viewer a specific way of seeing the world.

To reiterate a point made in the review of literature, only audience studies can categorically assert how readers actually interpret texts, a problem recognized in my critique of contemporary understanding of hegemony theory's attempts to comprehend the 'effect' of media messages. However, based on the data and a critical reading of the literature, I offer a plausible interpretation of the texts. Furthermore, the examples used are not one off occurrences within the text. Rather, resulting from the method used, the following examples are representative of common themes and rhythms present throughout the broadcasts. The discussion thus centres on the ideological elements of individualism, respect for authority, nationalism, and strength, competitiveness and gender.

5.11 - Economic and Political Systems of Domination.

It was noted earlier in this discussion that the production team felt a natural part of their work was to include economic messages within the broadcast. For example, the opening tease included a close image of an Adidas soccer ball supported by the rhetoric, "The Canada Cup of Soccer is bought to you by Adidas, the brand with the three stripes." In addition, there was the TSN turning point, brought to you by Royal Le Page, the starting line-up bought to you by Thrifty Rent a Car and so on. Further, I suggested that this manner of operating sustains the economic nexus of society as a natural part of everyday life. Therefore, the Canada Cup of Soccer telecast was ideally suited to a capitalist consumer culture (see Gruneau, 1989a). For soccer this may be more implicit, because the flow of the game allows for more economic messages to appear within the broadcast itself, rather than in a clearly delineated commercial break. I now expand these initial observations and make interpretations based on the theoretical framework set out in the review of literature.

The "natural," even "cultural," aspect of the producer's job, overtly satisfying the economic interests on the production, coupled with the (sub)conscious manifest functions of the audience commodity, meant there were many economic messages within the broadcasts. To reiterate, this economic focus was not a consciously elaborated, highly structured set of symbolic presentations that portrayed shared cultural values to preserve the status quo in the interests of capitalism and the corporate world (Stoddart, 1994). Rather, the status quo is preserved as a direct result of the production practices employed. For the reasons given in the previous sections these practices can be interpreted as providing symbolic messages which might unintentionally sustain economic interests and political domination. It is the link between economic interests and political domination in the theoretical framework which is of interest here concerning these economic messages. Indirectly through the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts big business or the economic elite deployed resources and traditions in ways that furthered their particular interests (Morgan, 1994a/b). Through a seemingly natural inclusion of economic messages in the broadcast, TSN soccer transmitted hegemonic messages which may help to sustain the dominant economic system of a capitalist Canadian society. The definition of ideology favoured by cultural studies, is a dialogue reproduced voluntarily in everyday practices which is taken for granted and appears natural and consistent with everyday experience (Young, 1991). It can be suggested the production team are an implicit part of imparting this ideology as part of their everyday struggle. The practices they engage in, calculated or not, appear as a natural part of their everyday production practices. However, a cultural studies analysis reveals the economic organization which these practices are supporting. Through the practices employed, the economic nexus of our society is supported and sustained as a natural part of everyday life. For example, for the production team it appeared natural, even cultural, to have a turning point sponsored by a major corporation. Without comment on alternative readings of these messages, it can be stated that this affirmation reinforces capitalist ideology and tacitly justifies the existing pattern of economic organization. Furthermore, a tentative conclusion is proffered which supports a postulation offered by Sage (1990) that the dominant economic class is able to exert an indirect influence on the mass media through advertising. This results in the media/sport/advertising fusion seen within the production and the text of the TSN soccer broadcasts. Hence, the economic elite's capitalist ideologies become synthesized within the broadcasts, perhaps indirectly guiding viewers and supporting their hegemonic position. Whannel (1983) would say that the TSN broadcast offered the viewer a way of seeing the world, one culturally bound with economic ideologies, which makes that specific form of social organization seem natural and inevitable. This is not an intentional attempt at forwarding capitalist ideology, rather a latent function of the desire to carry through a theme in the guise of a story and provide a show that satisfies the economic exigencies of production. I agree with Gruneau (1989a), who concluded that production:

> Involves an active process of marginalizing, downgrading, or deligitimizing potentially alternative explanations. This is not done through some finely tuned process of political socialization on the part of the production crew: rather it simply reflects the routine acceptance of discourse in production viewed as necessary to the making of good television (p.151 - 152).

Further, Gruneau (1989a) surmised that the production of shows such as the CBC

Whistler downhill produce a form of sport ideally suited to a capitalist consumer culture. Indeed, TSN is a private enterprise that exists in a capitalist consumer culture. Therefore, it is expected that this would be an appropriate ideology for TSN to reflect. This is not such a surprising conclusion when one considers that production will be constructed from the range of meanings which the current social formation makes available, thus the production of soccer on TSN is being framed within the confines of popular culture (Cantelon et al., 1988; Hall, 1980). By drawing upon a critical political-economy perspective, it becomes clear that the boundaries of action of the production crew are inseparable from the wider economic formation. Yet, the cultural studies positioning at least provides us with new ways of thinking about how culture is reconstituted daily through televised sport.

It can be perceived that the Canada Cup of Soccer, despite no (or very little) conscious attempt by the production crew, promoted images and discourses which make the economic and political system in Canada appear natural and inevitable. That is not to say that the political struggle can be simplified by the reductionist tendencies alluded to above. Gramsci understood that popular support was far more complex than this and always involved intricate relations of forces (Mouffe, 1979). It is to these relations of forces that attention is now turned. That is, how do the routine practices of production--the bread, butter and gravy practices--produce symbolic messages which might be interpreted to reflect capitalism thus covertly and overtly legitimating this social system (Mckay & Rowe, 1987; Whannel, 1992)? Specifically, I relate how the production practices of soccer on TSN forward individualism, respect for authority, nationalism, and strength, competition and gender.

5.12 - Individualism: "And it's all down to Peschisolido"

As stated, one of the aims of the production crew was to personalise some athletes so the story line is carried through and the flow of the broadcast is maintained. To achieve this seamless production, close-up shots of specific players were shown whenever possible, with accompanying commentary. Naturally, these discourses are concerned with those players focussed on in the pre-game, post-game and half-time shows. For instance, one of the 'stars' highlighted in the story line of the tournament was Paul Peschisolido, a Canadian forward. In the pre-game show there were four close-ups, plus archival footage of this player. Peschisolido was the only Team Canada player showcased and the images were supported by a narrative discourse. During game one, Peschisolido was continually singled out when there was a 'break' in the action and his contribution extolled by the commentators. For example, here is an extract of the narrative commentary from game one:

> Play by Play commentator: Geoff Aunger, looking for Peschisolido, lovely ball through and he has Peschisolido, Peschisolido looking for some help, Peschisolido slides it through, here it is, Dasovich Oh, rattles the crossbar, oh Nick Dasovich, that close to Canada's third, but it's all due to the work of Paul Peschisolido .... Nick Dasovich, how close can you come.
> Expert: Well, Paul Peschisolido's pace is causing the Irish defence all sorts of problems. He looks as though he's lost it here, because he's taken on one man too many, across to Corrazin, back to Dasovich who rattles off the underside of the crossbar and cleared by Darren Patterson. Really, Dasovich should have scored there at that pace and that angle (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 22nd May, 1995).

The production crew were pleased with their performance in game one because they had developed the story line around the player who scored both of Canada's goals. In the second game, which did not involve Canada, TSN focussed the half time segment around Peschisolido. This "star treatment" was how the production team chose to personalise Peschisolido for the viewer. Thus, chyrons, archival footage and discourse centred on his future wife, his contribution to the previous game, and his golfing ability. This approach was used to get the viewer to identify with Peschisolido enough so that they would watch the final game of the tournament. This is just one example of the individualising and personalisation which occurred in the production. There were others, including Salas and Goldberg for Chile and Dowie and Gillespie for Northern Ireland.

Interestingly, all of the highlighted players were forward players, those expected to score the goals. Thus, hierarchization appears to be another guiding principle for the production crew. Those individuals most likely to score, thus influencing the outcome the greatest, were considered most important by the production team. In line with Whannel's (1992) postulation, not only are some players deemed more important than their teammates, those individuals are identified as such and given a higher profile by the production team. Another aspect of the story line concerned the framing of Canadian players playing abroad, especially those in the English leagues. This decision was taken because a TSN "Inside Sports" programme had aired a few months earlier which featured Canadian soccer players playing abroad. The story line centred on the few individual players who supposedly would make Canada into a winning team rather than a losing team which would 'magically disappear'. This presentation style evokes Mckay and Rowe's (1987) notion of the primacy of capitalist values such as meritocratic achievement and individualism. By featuring the superstars, the TSN Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts were forwarding symbolic messages which can be interpreted as containing the ideological elements and principles of competitive individualism and meritocratic achievement by rewarding winning and outcomes and promoting a team game from an individual perspective. Once again, this is not the result of a conscious attempt on behalf of the production crew to support and sustain the current social system, rather an attempt to create an action-packed product.

5.13 - Respect for Authority: "Who am I to argue with the referee"

Mckay and Rowe (1987) postulated that respect for authority is a key component of capitalist ideology and that televised sport reinforces this view. However, this notion is confounded by data from this study. The TSN Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts did not consistently present symbolic meanings which could be interpreted as supporting the social order. Indeed, at times, the messages produced could be construed as being anti-capitalist.

Rather than consistently supporting the referee's opinions, the quality of the referee's decisions were left to the viewer. This approach was based on TSN's perception of who their viewer is--a knowledgable sports fan who can not be snowballed into believing everything the commentator says. When relevant, the TSN production did overtly legitimate decisions made by the referee. This presentation style supposedly leads to the viewer respecting the authority figure. Below are three brief examples of such narrative from the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts provided by the expert commentator:

> That was a great decision by Brian Hall, after the nearside linesman put up his flag as Gray was walking back and not interfering with play, he lets play go on, great decision (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 25th May).
>
> That's something you don't see very often, but he's quite right, the referee Brian Hall, the substitute Nigel Worthington taking the throw in from the wrong place, means it goes over to Canada (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 25 May 1995).
>
> I'm not sure who was to blame, it looked like 50 / 50 to me. But who am I to argue with the referee (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 28th May, 1995).

In direct contrast to these narrative extracts, the expert commentator also corrected the referee. To illustrate:

> Expert: Alan Macdonald complaining because he thought the red shirts had made a back, and once again I tend to agree the referee does not seem to be calling that (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 25th May, 1995).
> Expert: Ian Dowie, can't believe he's been given offside, it looked like a brilliant run (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 25th May, 1995).

At other times when the expert commentator disagreed with a call the decision would be left to the viewer. Conversely, the expert would comment on why this action was an acceptable part of the game. To elucidate I offer the following examples from the Canada Cup of Soccer:

> Play by Play: Well, Mr Seeford, a little slow there with the whistle.
> Expert: You are supposed to be there Mike, well you be the judge, a little hand ball (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 22nd May, 1995)?
>
> Play by Play: As Keith Gillespie piles one in the face of Carlo Corrazzin.
> Expert: Referee Brian Hall saying just calm things down as frustrations are starting to show. Keith Gillespie did not like the way, there you saw, Carlo Corazzin kicked him first and then come jumping in there and followed through with his left foot. Why did you do that son, it's not worth the bother and gives him a little nudge and lets hope it's forgotten. Really, Carlo Corazzin twice there the offender and Keith Gillespie, such a nice young man, let his frustrations show. I think I would have done the same (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 25 May, 1995).

These examples are germane to the current study for they embody a number of key issues. Rather than respecting the referee's decision, the expert commentator questioned some of the calls. This contends previous scholarly reasoning (e.g. Mckay & Rowe, 1987; Silk, 1994). Drawing upon Stoddart (1994), it appears there needs to be a differentiation made between different sport delivery systems. That is, a sports channel offering a soccer broadcast in the Canadian context may be addressing a different audience than a similar broadcast in England. Initial evidence for this reasoning is provided from Silk (1994) where I elicited that Sky tries to address a wider audience. While Sky is also a sports channel, it is in the English cultural context where the production team framed the broadcast for a wider audience. For soccer in Canada, the audience is perceived to be knowledgable, thus the production team felt confident about commenting directly on the referee's decisions, either positively or negatively. This suggests that each network's perceived audience must be known before speculating on the intent of the broadcasters. Depending on the perceived audience, the production team can unwittingly be conveying messages which respect authority thus supporting the dominant groups or could promote anti-capitalist meanings.

Of particular interest is the way that the expert commentator was the one expected to comment on the referee's decision. According to the literature this authoritative interpretation of events places one in the privileged position of having access to the correct interpretation of events (Sage, 1990). Further, Sage claimed that these experts are often fully congruent with hegemonic perspectives because they are survivors--even models--of the competitive meritocracy. If this is the case, as former athletes, the experts are fully aware of the frustrations and contradictions within the dominant value and belief system. Thus, the expert should be equally as likely to support the player as the referee. This was evident in the Gillespie example outlined previously. Therefore, it appears that Sage's (1990) postulation needs revision. The TSN expert commentator was encouraged by the producer to 'speak his mind'. Rather than the expert being fully congruent with the dominant value and belief system, he was more congruent with the soccer value and belief system of which he was a part. Soccer, as a sport is not *fully* congruent with the dominant system, despite containing many elements which can be interpreted to have an ideological element. For example, soccer as an institution is still male oriented, yet may contain anti-capitalist ideologies such as condemning the amount of money involved in trades or the quality of some refereeing decisions. Thus, depending on who the expert is perceived to be addressing and the sport in question, future research efforts should determine the amount of agency given to the expert commentator in the production of televised sport.

5.14 - "The Battle of the Titans": Strength, Competitiveness and Gender

According to Whannel (1989b) the heart of capitalism is competitive individualism, which televised sport glorifies. It has already been seen how the TSN broadcasts emphasize individualism. Attention is now turned to the ideology of competitiveness and how it is portrayed within the broadcasts.

Strength and competitiveness were seen as essential ingredients for success by the production team. Ian Dowie, a Northern Ireland forward, was chosen for inclusion in the story line due to his reputation as a 'tough customer', a term continually reinforced by the discourse and close images of Dowie. An illustration of how strength and competitive qualities were glamorized in broadcast commentary is described below:

> Play by Play: Samuel going up with Dowie, and Dowie and Samuel trading elbows.
> Expert: Well, that's going to be some battle, two big men, very big in the air, it's going to be a battle of the titans (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 22nd May, 1995).

This view of competitiveness applied not only to males. Comment was made concerning the Canadian women's team. The Canadian women's soccer team was going to the World Cup finals in Sweden, a tournament covered by TSN. This provided justification for the commentary team to state:

> Play by Play: Look at little Lindon Hooper, battling, always battling away for Canada. Well, for the first time both Hoopers will be on the field for Canada, here at Commonwealth. Lindon in this game against Northern Ireland, and then his sister, Charmaine Hooper will be on the field for the

> Canadian womens team friendly game against the US, a tune up for the women's World Cup, which takes place in Sweden next month, so both Hoopers on the field the same day here in Edmonton.
> Expert: And they have identical styles, both very aggressive, both going for each and every tackle as if it was the last one they were going to make (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 22nd May, 1995).

The literature suggests that media representations of female sport are likely to be ambivalent. In attempting to validate and encourage audience interest, while at the same time reproducing dominant images of gender, the media emphasize the male's superior strength and greater suitability for sport (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). In the example above, Charmaine Hooper is said to have the masculine qualities of her brother which ostensibly allows her to compete and succeed in soccer. As Whannel (1992) stated, televised sport commentary celebrates masculine traits in females; that is, you have to be masculine to compete in sport as sport poses a threat to femininity and to be feminine, poses a problem for sporting activity.

The Hooper commentary is also revealing when one considers the language used. Charmaine Hooper was marked first as Lindon Hooper's sister, not a performer in her own right. This is interesting because it harmonizes with analysis of the media commentary of tennis and basketball (Messner, Carlisle-Duncan & Jensen, 1993). This type of commentary is described as a gendered hierarchy of naming. Through this instance of a gendered hierarchy of naming the TSN crew were (sub)consciously promoting sport as an institutional site for the construction and legitimation of masculine power through its role in delivering a mass mediated spectacle (Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Hargreaves, 1986). Messner et al. (1993) found that this gender hierarchy is also bound with race. Specifically, commentator's hierarchy of naming placed white, male, middle class performers first; followed by (normally) black men, then females, followed by black females. The example involving the Hoopers challenges this notion slightly, because the brother and sister are black. They were referred to in exactly the same language as were Ian Dowie and Randy Samuel, Samuel being a black defender and Dowie a white forward. I can only speculate as to why there might be differences in soccer coverage versus basketball or tennis coverage, albeit to state that the coverage was on different networks and featured different commentators. In addition, the telecasts were produced in different cultural contexts, with the Messner et al. (1993) study occurring in the United States. The differences in the Canadian context provide a basis for comparison of the gendered hierarchy of naming in different cultural contexts and this should be empirically assessed in a variety of sports and cultures. Once again, it should be stated, the commentators were probably reproducing these gender ideologies subconsciously, the main intent being to promote the upcoming women's games on the network.

Despite this example, empirical work is desperately needed to assess the television production of women's sport. Indeed, there are many exciting avenues for research on female sport events or perhaps on new programmes being produced which focus purely on womens sport such as "Sportswoman" on the Womens Television Network. Furthermore, it will be important to determine what the actors views of gender bias are. This seems to be a particularly exacting question yet has not been dealt with by scholars. It was stated in the review that women are seldom involved in the production of sport. However, in the televised production of the Canada Cup, there were as many women as men in key roles. Therefore, this view needs updating and expanding in the ways suggested above and in the decoding of events. Duncan (1994) drew upon a Foucaultian analysis to show how there are compelling discursive mechanisms that encourage women to think about their bodies in specific ways. Particularly, through the metaphor of the panopticon and the mechanism of confession, it can be seen how an ideal body image becomes inculcated in women through the sporting media. Such studies can also advance theoretical comprehension of the micro-political domain of reception, an area currently underdeveloped in cultural studies.

5.15 - The Classless Environment of Televised Soccer: Restricting the Range of Information

As outlined above, athletes are portrayed in the media as individuals who have achieved success through hard work and dedication. Theoretically then, anyone, regardless of background, can reach the top. This is a fallacy, yet the world of sport (television) masks class, justifying the existing pattern of social , political and economic organization (Blain et al., 1993; Lawrence & Rowe, 1986; Whannel, 1992). This erroneous view encourages the working class to adopt an uncritical perspective of sport, one that revolves around competition, strength, individuals, meritocratic achievement, aggression and tension. The TSN Canada Cup of Soccer was laden with symbolic messages which support the existing social organization.

Rather than seeing the TSN broadcasts as implicitly bound in masking aspects of the current social organisation, the broadcasts can be seen as a network of boundaries which restrict the range of information available to the viewer, not as an evil demon manipulating the viewers as if they were robots (Seaman, 1992). The range of information available to the viewer is that which the story line allows, relating back to the manifest function of the broadcasters. For example, the production team's emphasis on the Canadian team (especially those who play abroad) as struggling to make it into one of the elite soccer nations in the world showed how the production team focus on protagonists. That is, the Canadian team facing adversity are the protagonists, especially those Canadians plying their soccer trade overseas. Therefore, indirectly it can be stated that by focussing on individuals and protagonists perhaps the TSN broadcasts inhibit individuals from developing a sociological imagination (Hilliard, 1994). From this interpretation it can be speculated that the audience may take for granted that many problems are their own individual problems requiring individual solutions. This does not allow issues such as class consciousness in sport to become a public issue requiring collective action. This "spin doctoring" was not a conscious attempt to mask class and support the current social arrangements, rather the boundaries restricting the range of information available to the viewer, was a direct result of the production team creating a story line around "Canadian players abroad."

5.16 - "Look Out World, Here Comes Canada": Nationalism in the Canada Cup of Soccer

Blain et al. (1993) suggested that the way sports reporters present national traits as a given may serve the interests of the dominant political system. That is, we are able to celebrate ourselves and mark 'others' off as foreign (Whannel, 1992). Once again, because of the manifest function of the production, nationalistic messages were a part of the soccer broadcasts. Due to self promotion for the network and the desire to promote the Canadian protagonists abroad, the programmes contained numerous Canadian images. This strategy was diluted in part by the restrictions associated with the global feed, a notion extended in the following section. However, there was clear intent to show Canadian images as part of the story line. This was apparent even during a game. For example, the Bob Lenarduzzi interview analysed earlier was seen as more important than a match not involving the Canadian team. In addition, the play-by-play announcer wished the women's World Cup team good luck on the air. Upon probing the producer concerning these images and discourses, he stated:

> There's a patriotic slant, but that's natural, and in the case of the women, I think they said that about the women who are off to Sweden, it is just something which (play by play) would feel he'd want to do on air, to wish them well as they are off to the World Cup, and (expert) is the same. They're patriotic for sure . . . but I think there is a difference between being patriotic and being what I call a 'homer', and I don't think of (play-by-play) or (expert) in that regard (personal interview).

According to the production team, the underlying reasons behind the nationalistic textual images and discourses were related to the story line and a natural inclination towards being patriotic. One might expect there would be a patriotic slant toward the broadcasts. As the producer outlined, this is natural. This is especially the case when one conceives of ideology as practices which appear 'natural' and consistent with everyday cultural experience. That is, the crew reproduce and perhaps reinforce everyday cultural experience through the medium of television. Further evidence is offered for this view when one considers the narrative between the play-by-play and expert commentator following Canada's win in the first game of the tournament:

> Play by Play (P): Well I tell you what, they pointed at the tie with Brazil as an awakening for the world, it was back in 1984 when Canada beat Wales 2-0 that was considered a shouting win at that time, I don't know what they'll say about this one, but it is 2-0 Canada - Northern Ireland, and that's not what a lot of people expected.
> Expert (E): That's what nobody expected, least of all Northern Ireland, but you have to say that the Canadian side put up just a great performance, they hustled, they tackled and they've shown at times a great deal of skill. This is a very good Northern Ireland side, it's a very well balanced side with youth and experience, a two nil win is, I would say something to brag about.
> P: One more look at the watch by Mr Hall, Yes. Look out world here comes Canada.
> E: Absolutely delighted as the crowd gives Canada a standing ovation. Paul Peschisolido the two goal hero (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 22nd May, 1995).

As outlined above, televised sport often 'marks nations off' against each other by presenting so called national traits which may ultimately serve the interests of the dominant group. On a number of occasions the TSN broadcasts offered stereotypical views of the other nations participating in the Canada Cup of Soccer. Once again, this may be due to the commentators seeing this as natural and consistent with their everyday experience. These stereotypical images are a consequence of adhering to the story line. To illustrate this point, the production team were expecting Zamarano, the top Chilean, to play in the tournament. Before the tournament began, the producer constructed the story line and opening around Zamarano. When the Chilean team arrived in Edmonton, Zamarano was absent and did not play in the tournament. At the subsequent production meeting, it was decided to focus on the two players who would be playing forward for Chile. Since the crew knew nothing about these two players they could only make generic comments about them. The expert commentator was concerned that he would have little to say about these two players so he asked that the segment be short; "I know fuck all about them, it's all going to have to be generic." The resultant discourse was as follows:

> Expert (E): Number one is a good word to describe Zamarano, he clearly is a world class striker who has endured an outstanding season with Real Madrid, a natural goalscorer, he is going to be hard to replace.
> Play by Play (P): Now, there's no doubt, with him in the line up, they beat

> Mexico a couple of weeks ago, they beat Mexico 2-1, but then they didn't have him few days later and they were thumped by Uruguay. So who do they rely on now?
> E: Well, they're going to have to replace Zamarano with two strikers, both of these strikers know where the goal is, Salas and Goldberg, the 25 year old Rodrigo Goldberg is a clever ball player who plies his trade with Universitade de Chile, tough to knock off the ball, very quick, very clever. His striking partner also plays with Universitade de Chile, now he's even stronger and even tougher to knock off the ball, he combines well with Goldberg, and they will have to take over the goalscoring chores from Zamarano (TSN Canada Cup of Soccer, 25th May, 1995).

Rather than referring specifically to the talents of Salas and Goldberg, the production team applied generic traits to the two players--quick, clever and tough. This was due to the pressure of the work place, the lack of time to find information on these players and the crew's desire to profile Chilean players to give the viewer an emotional attachment to the game. Through these practices, generic traits were presented. While these traits may not be specific to Chilean players, the viewer may perceive them to be Chilean qualities. This was the meaning encoded by the production team. In this instance the TSN soccer broadcast had the potential to mark Canadians off from other 'others'.

Obviously it cannot be determined how this subtext was read in another culture, however, comment can made with regard to the potential effect this has for cultural exchanges. The restriction of the bread, butter and gravy practices made the broadcast more international in nature. The manifest function of the TSN broadcast changed to cater to an international audience. This created a contradictory situation for TSN because the global pressures operating as a context for the production, constrained the director and producer from their normal practice of trying to create a spectacular show. This finding suggests that a unidirectional view of cultural invasion is hindered by the increasing global context. Not only does a sports production have to appeal to an international audience, but has to tone down the gravy practices (which can be interpreted to be laden with ideology). As a speculative conclusion I believe that the new global and audience conditions are supporting a view of televised sport which promotes a multidirectional flow of culture as the global audience did influence the production team in their choice of images and discourses. Conversely, resulting from the manifest function--story line--certain (symbolic) Canadian messages were featured on the world feed. It appears that the broadcasts became more 'international' in nature and that any 'cultural invasion' was an unintentional result of the story line and a reflection of the 'natural' patriotism among the production team.

One of the consequences of the world feed was a reduction in the use of gravy practices such as graphically displaying statistics. The use of statistics can contribute directly to the achievement of hegemony as they are often mistaken for knowledge and deep meaning (Gitlin, 1979). The context of a production may enhance or diminish the broadcast's contribution to the hegemonic agenda. The global feed of the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts limited the TSN crew's use of the standard production practices. This was evident in the lack of statistics and also in the equitable number of individual close-ups from all the teams involved. This was in just one set of broadcasts, thus future empirical investigations should examine whether or not the global context of production supports the initial interpretation that televised sport contributes to multidirectional cultural flows.

5.17 - Manifest and Latent Functions of the Canada Cup of Soccer

In summary, the manifest function of the production was to present the viewer with an entertaining package framed through the use of the bread, butter and gravy practices and a story line. Full use of these interrelated practices was limited by inter and intraorganizational pressures and the global context of production, all of which have clear implications for the role of human agency in televised sport production. Despite these limitations, latent meanings were uncovered which could be interpreted to be indirectly a part of a media institution which has the potential to sustain and make seem inevitable the current social, political and economic system (Whannel, 1983).

Like Stoddart (1994), I contend that symbolism is not absent at a subconscious level, yet due to the narrow understandings of how televised sport is produced, scholarly analysis which sees televised sport as an institution primarily involved in conscious symbolic construction is in need of updating. That is, by deep analysis of production, combined with a textual analysis we can expose the (sub)conscious intent of television sport broadcasters and the ideological potential of the symbolic messages produced. Drawing upon these results and the discussion presented above, conclusions, implications and recommendations for future study and for the televised sport industry itself are presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 - Food for Thought: The Complex Interrelations of the Televised Sport Menu

Despite the limitations noted earlier concerning the lack of an ethnographic audience analysis it is clear that the viewer was an integral part of the production of televised soccer. The 'perceived viewer' was an important influence upon the production team in their choice of images and discourses for broadcast. In the broadcasts featuring the Canadian team, the production team accounted for this perceived influence in the pace of cutting, the close-up shots and the story line. Additionally, the influence came from the fragmented, global viewer. These new, altered audience conditions constrained the production team from choosing some of the 'fancy' images. The whole process of televised sport is not linear, in reality the production and the context act as a backdrop for the text with which the audience interacts. The production, context, text and viewer are interlinked. That is, the components of the televised sport process act with each other to produce a cultural dialogue. This dialogue does not appear to be a unidirectional process where the almighty medium has a monolithic effect upon the viewer, rather, televised soccer reflects the popular culture in which it exists. Thus, both the production and the viewer of the broadcast are formed by the wider socio-cultural and political structure of which they are a part. This finding provides empirical support for Hall's (1980) encoding/decoding approach to the media. Therefore, it was not surprising that the Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts on TSN reflected popular culture.

It can be concluded that the TSN production was framed by the wider macro-political world, not only reflecting popular culture, but having the potential to sustain and make appear natural the current social organisation. Through the bread, butter and gravy practices the production team (sub)consciously emphasized values which epitomize capitalism. Indeed, this conclusion is common sense as TSN is a private enterprise which is bound to reflect capitalist consumer culture (Gruneau, 1989a).

Soccer is somewhat unique amongst televised sport productions. This is due to the length (90 minutes of play) and uninterrupted flow of the game. This forces TSN to satisfy the economic context of the production within the show itself, rather than in standardized commercial breaks. Commercial breaks are few and far between so advertising must become part of the live broadcast. A viewer of the Canada Cup telecasts would have done well to distinguish between the production and the commercial message. Because of the nature of the game, soccer broadcasts, more so than other sport telecasts, have the potential to naturalize the ideology that economic messages are an unchangeable and natural part of sport. TSN is certainly not the only network to do this, thus this conclusion extends beyond this case study. The Sky research project reported similar production routines. Furthermore, Fox television and Star television, like Sky are owned by Rupert Murdoch and are concerned with the "pie and meringue practices" (David Hill, in Pierce, 1995). The pie being the equivalent to the bread and butter and the meringue corresponding to the gravy practices at TSN. This observation supports Whannel's (1989) contention that televised sport, through its aim to provide entertaining television is, "a new form of bread and circuses, a distraction for the masses" (p.7-13), glorifying the heart of capitalism.

I propose a qualification to this argument. I believe it is no longer the case, despite the contentions in the mainstream literature, that these ideological processes are masked and presented to the viewer as neutral. The TSN production team were clearly aware that they were offering more than a transparent reflection of the game. Additionally, the crew took pains to make sure the audience knew this. By stating that they could offer the home viewer the view the goalkeeper had, or by showing the commentators and camera crew in action there was no attempt to hide this process. Indeed, Sky Sports was even more open about the production practices used to grab the audience. Further, the "tabloid television" networks in the United States, especially Fox television, constantly remind us of the new techniques they use to enhance our appreciation of the game. The notion that televised sport is a neutral channel where ideological representations appear as natural (see Clarke and Clarke, 1982) is thus contended.

6.2 - Cultural Studies, Critical Political Economy and Hyperreality: Theoretical Development Through Media/Sport Analyses

As stated at the outset, I believe that to advance our understanding of the culture in which we live, we may need to go beyond the current boundaries of cultural studies and draw upon theorists who can enhance current interpretive thought. Thus, in the thesis I draw upon both critical political economy and postmodernism to enhance my understanding of televised sport production.

Critical political economy helps us make sense of the economic context of the production. For the TSN production, it can be seen how important a context this is in the altered audience conditions, as TSN strives to meet the bottom line--"selling beer, soap and cars." The postmodern notion of hyperreality is also a useful explanatory tool; providing insight into the notion of story line. That is, despite the images on the screen appearing as reality, this perspective can explain the reality before the image, the game, and how what is seen on the screen is a hyperreality, one that is framed by the production team through the story lines and appears as "even better than the real thing." As a guiding theoretical framework the cultural studies approach can aid in uncovering latent meanings inherent within the broadcast and it also reminds us that these structures have a history that can be deconstructed. Thus, in analyzing the historical forces operating upon TSN one uncovers the political and organisational forces framing the production. Similar to Meehan (1994), I advocate that a complete understanding of televised sport means blending theoretical approaches to fully integrate notions of human agency, class struggle, ideology and impersonal social structures. Furthermore, I recognize that this line of reasoning has to be developed. An example of this approach is Duncan's (1994) use of a Foucualtian paradigm in analysis of "Shape" magazine. It will be of interest to determine whether Duncan's interpretations are generalizable to other media forms, such as television. Such analyses can aid scholarly understanding of the discursive mechanisms of reception at the 'micro-political' level.

6.3 - A Finer Sense of Meaning to Televised Sport Production

The Canada Cup of Soccer broadcasts on TSN were created as part of the wider socio-cultural formation in which they exist. That is, by catering to the audience (and economic) conditions which provide the context for production, TSN supplied the symbolic messages which appeared for the viewer. Soccer is not as much a male institution in Canada as it is in many other parts of the world, especially in England, where the rich history of soccer as a male working class sport still holds as a tradition in the modern game. Without any detailed analysis, the meaning of soccer in England is reflective of this male institution. In Canada, however, the meaning of soccer as being more gender balanced is reflected in TSN soccer broadcasts. TSN perceives that their soccer audience is both male, female, and knowledgable. Despite recognizing that there are many female viewers, there were still references to stereotypical images and narrative of women in sport. Despite knowing there is a sizable female audience for soccer, the Reppe Shoppe, the division of Labatts Communications which sells audiences to advertisers, were only interested in the breakdown of male viewers. The main conclusion here is that the context of production in different cultural settings can bring a finer sense of meaning to televised sport and reveal the reasoning behind different symbolism and discourses. This observation runs counter to Stoddart's (1994) homogenisation of sport delivery systems. Specifically, due to televised sport being an implicit part of the dialogue of popular culture, sport delivery, even the same sport in other cultural contexts, is likely to be delivered differently. To resolve this debate future research should examine sports telecasts produced in different cultural contexts.

Stoddart (1994) also declared that much of what has been written in the mainstream literature is based on a narrow understanding of the production of televised sport. This is a contention I agree with, albeit with some reservations. Perhaps this is due to the different cultural context where the production took place or the altered audience conditions. The production of the Canada Cup of Soccer was constrained by a number of significant contexts which, with the possible exception of the global context, have so far not been considered in empirical accounts of sport television production.

6.4 - "I'm Sorry, That's Off the Menu": The Constraints Operating on the Canada Cup of Soccer Broadcasts

Throughout the thesis I have referred to a number of constraints operating as context for televised soccer production at TSN. The thesis has uncovered a deeper layer of meaning in the production process than the mainstream view espoused by televised sport scholars. Typically, these empirical accounts make passing reference to, or totally ignore, notions of organizational culture and philosophy, industry practices, globalism, and quasi-governmental pressures. These external constraints ultimately inhibit the amount of human agency in the production team and reduce the level of craft pride which drives the production.

By drawing upon a wider theoretical base (organizational sociology), the televised sport industry can be seen as operating in a context which contrasts with to the previous conclusions, that is, the sport delivery system is becoming increasingly homogenised. The institutional practices uncovered in this thesis suggest that by industry standards there is one correct way to cover soccer on television. Each network has its own identity and attempts to satisfy their own audience, however, the global context means that the audience can become fragmented or unknown. Additionally, the ownership of networks have fallen into the hands of a few elite players. TSN is part of the Labatt conglomerate at present, but it is in competition with these other networks despite not having the same economic resources.

A final constraint on the production team is that imposed by the global context of the telecast. Contrary to common sense, the increased marketability of sport to an international audience limits the array of techniques used by the production team, on both a conscious and subconscious level. There was a conscious attempt to make the broadcast international in nature. Thus, graphics, the network identity and image choices were framed within this context. Quite literally, the meringue or the gravy was taken off the menu because of the global audience. However, certain nationalistic images and discourses did appear, more as a result of the story line which was framed by the wider socio-cultural formation. This makes it possible to speculate that televised sport is implicated in multidirectional cultural flows rather than a monolithic cultural invasion. Thus, different sports and delivery systems need to be analysed in terms of the constraints imposed by a global audience. This thesis is a tentative beginning in helping us understand the effect these altered audience conditions have upon the production.

Despite sometimes contradictory conclusions in these areas, I bring these notions to the research agenda. The variety of constraints operating limit the agency of the production team. Despite this contention, the team feels they have a great deal of human agency. It is my belief that many of these pressures are unrecognized by the crew. Thus, the role of human agency in televised sport is in question, despite the exalted role Stoddart (1994) assigned to it. Specifically, the historical, political, audience, industrial, and global context of production form a complex web of relations. This complex web of relations serves as an underlying professional ideology (codes of practice) which limits the role of human agency in televised sport production.

6.5 - Manifest Functions and Latent Meanings: The Ideological Dimension of Televised Sport

The cultural studies perspective used in this study leads me to conclude that the latent meanings of the broadcast were not consciously created by the production team. Rather, the manifest functions, to create a story line to satisfy the audience commodity, and perhaps the political directives, are the very practices which forward images and discourse which can be read as having latent meaning. Specifically, the gravy practices, with the constraints outlined above, emphasize core capitalist values and have the potential to make our very specific form of social, political and economic organisation seem natural and inevitable (Whannel, 1983) by emphasizing and dramatizing stereotypical images of gender, nation, authority, individualism, strength, competitiveness and class. As televised sport becomes increasingly economically driven, a process perhaps escalated by the innovation of new global technologies, there is even more potential for ideological images and discourses. This is because the images and narratives used (the gravy or the meringue) to satisfy the economic forces, such as close-ups, personalisation, story line, statistics and graphics are those very images which support, sustain, and reinforce capitalism.

Of course, I can not be sure of how these symbolic messages are decoded. This depends on a number of individual and social factors as outlined in the review of literature. Suffice to say, it is my contention that readings are to some extent textbound and that individual readings do occur, albeit in the confines of the wider socio-economico-politico formation. That is, the codes mobilized by the viewer will largely depend on the triple context of the location of the text, the historical formation and the cultural formation of the reader (Storey, 1993). This is extended when one considers the subconscious (unintentional) framing of preferred meanings by the production staff in their desire to create "good television." I do not wish to negate the importance of audience studies, however, because of new audience conditions, this type of study becomes increasingly difficult to do. Consequently, the focus of this section has been on the *ideological potential* (Blain et al., 1993) of the messages produced by the Canada Cup Of Soccer broadcasts on TSN and the dialogue between the audience, popular culture and this production.

6.6 - Implications for Future Study: Bringing an Even Finer Sense of Meaning to Televised Sport

Throughout this chapter, I have pointed to areas which are in need of empirical investigation. Since a great deal of what I have suggested is new to the field of sport media studies, I strongly recommend that future research compare and test the initial observations and conclusions I have formed. Specifically, research on televised sport must take into account the cultural setting in which the broadcast is produced and differences between sports. No work to date, apart from the current thesis, has empirically investigated the effects of the global context on the actual labour process of production. Therefore, instead of concentrating on "cultural invasions" or the "flattening out of cultural difference," attention must first be given to the production before speculating about the global effects. Empirical evidence can then be compared to the initial observations of this study that televised sport supports the notion of multidirectional cultural flows.

A further conclusion concerns the effect on the production by both inter and intraorganizational pressures. This level of analysis has not been applied to the production of televised sport and is an important consideration in understanding the role of human agency and craft pride. These issues must be extended in future analyses of the mediated sport. Of course, this is part of the whole context of production, which I have shown is an interrelated part of the process of televised sport. I recommend that future research consider televised sport as a process, rather than discrete units of analysis. Methodologically, this creates difficulties as seen in my lack of ethnographic audience analysis. The ethnography of an audience, along with the production, are two areas of televised sport that deserve more empirical investigation. In tandem with this empirical work, there is a definite need to continually revise the theoretical framework for study. As outlined, I drew upon several different perspectives to enhance the meaning which cultural studies frameworks can offer. Thus, researchers in future studies should report their successes and failures with different theoretical and methodological approaches, thus advancing critical sociocultural analysis. I also wish to close with a brief word on methodology. Observation alone would not have engendered the rich data I gathered. The sense of belonging I felt with the team, the social outings I was a part of all enhanced my data collection. Furthermore, following up these detailed observations with additional interviews was a fruitful experience. On previous occasions I have used strict content analysis from a semiological perspective. The semiologically oriented design in this thesis, moved away from this standard format. The flow of the broadcast was analysed without the structural limitations of the content analysis approach. Thus, this qualitative analysis was not only more comfortable to use, but it also kept me attuned to the observation and interview data.

It would be remiss if I did not comment on the industry itself. I do not owe TSN anything, apart from my gratitude for access to the production. However, the production team are especially interested in reading this thesis. Therefore, I briefly turn attention to the implications of the thesis for the TSN crew. First, I believe it would be difficult for

TSN to present images and discourse which do not support capitalist values. Indeed, why would they want to? They are a part of the economic system which they are (unintentionally) sustaining. However, an awareness of the latent meanings of their work may make the team fully cognizant of their practices. The team strives to be equitable, as was the case in their view of the global audience, thus an awareness of stereotypical images, such as gender or competition may mean the team frames the story lines in a slightly different way.

The industry as a whole may also want to be aware of the global pressures on production. Specifically, if it could break up the 'spectacle' of their broadcasts. One is struck by a notion of capitalism shooting itself in the foot, as the increasing global pressures force fewer gravy practices, thus less economic viability to the broadcasts. Actors in this industry may wish to consider who they are broadcasting for, and the possible economic benefits of catering for a domestic audience or an international viewer.

A final suggestion for the production team is that they try to distance themselves from the TSN image of male sports, thus promoting soccer to reflect the level of participation by both genders in Canada. There is a huge potential viewership which may be put off by the broadcasts due to TSN's male image. Thus, if the production team really do tailor the soccer to the male and female knowledgable audience, there is a real possibility of enhancing soccer in Canadian culture as both a male/female institution. Further, soccer as a world sport is severely underrepresented in North America. At the time of writing, the United States held the 1994 World Cup and started another professional league this very week. The explosion of North American sports worldwide has been due to the television rights associated with the sport. For instance, witness the NBA or the NFL's explosion in England (see Maguire, 1990). With the rate at which soccer is growing in North America, it appears that TSN has an opportunity to promote this sport in a way which is less stereotypical than other male sporting institutions in Canada. Through the medium of television, there is a real chance for TSN to offer a real sport to real life--the Canadian culture. Thus, TSN has the opportunity to deliver on its promise contained in the slogan which it airs daily. That is, to deliver "Real Life, Real

Drama, Real TV" reflecting the place of soccer in Canadian culture. If this proves to be a successful venture, then TSN may be a part of a sport delivery system which is less stereotypical, or at least informs its viewers of the prejudices it presents. However, I do not believe this will be achieved without entertaining television, but it could be a promising start in an exciting new vision of televised sport as a harmonious symphony. After all, "television is rock and roll."

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APPENDIX A

TSN TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

DESCRIPTOR SHEET

For clarity, the following descriptors are offered which give an explanation of the type of shots which are offered to the producer and director at the Canada Cup Of Soccer.

Locator - A static shot from high above the west side of the stadium.

Long Shot - A shot which followed play and consisted of approximately a third or more of the playing field.

Tight Shot - A shot which offered a closer look at the play than the above, but which did not single out a particular individual.

Close Up - A shot which singled out a particular player and offered his or her whole body.

Personality Shot - A shot consisting of the upper half of a players or coaches body.

Face Shot - A shot focussing purely on the face of an individual.

The following are descriptions of the different camera shots offered to the producer and director by the camera operators.

# 1 - Shot from camera one or camera two, the two main cameras located in the television suite. This shot is a high, long shot and is used to follow the game, normally including approximately a third of the field. On occasion, if the ball is near the opposite touchline from the camera position, the shot would zoom in slightly, but was classified as a long shot. If the ball was on the touchline near the camera position, the shot also covered slightly less of the play, due to the camera angle.

# 2 - Shot from camera one or camera two. The shot would either consist of the upper half of a particular players body (personality shot), a closer look at the play (tight shot), such as the setting up of a free kick, or a shot of the whole body of one player (close up).

# 3 - This is a shot from the mobile camera, camera five. It normally consisted of 'personality shots' of a 'star' on the bench or warming up to enter the field of play. Thus the shot is normally a personality or face shot, or a full body shot of a personality (close up). On occasion, this camera would cover play if it was near the nearside touchline in the centre of the field, in the form of a tight shot.

# 4 - This is a shot from the camera stationed at pitch level, approximately on the eighteen yard line. The camera normally followed play when it was in the corner nearest to this camera and consisted of covering just a few players. This was thus a closer and tighter look at the play (tight shot). The camera also offered close-ups, personality and face shots of players who entered into this part of the field.

# 5 - This was a shot from the goal cameras, cameras six and seven. The cameras were fixed in position in the goal and covered a small area from the goal line to around twelve yards out. Thus, the camera may pick up a close-up of a player if he or she entered the area closest to the goal line. It also covered play from a closer perspective providing the play was in this 'goalmouth' area (tight shot).

# 6 - This camera was located high at the south end of the stadium and offered a shot of the whole field or a shot of the game from a similar perspective of cameras one and two, however from a different position (tight and long shots). This camera was also used at the beginning of the show to offer a 'locator' shot, from high above the television suite. The camera operator then switched positions to the south of the stadium.

APPENDIX B

TSN AUDIENCE FIGURES - SOCCER SUMMER 1995

Average Minute Audience

Program	Episode	Date	Day	Time (ET)	Normal Duration	Total 2+ 000s	Total 18+ 000s	Total 18-34 000s	Total 18-49 000s	Total 25-54 000s	Total Male 18+ 000s	Total Male 18-34 000s	Total Male 18-49 000s	Total Male 25-54 000s
Canada Cup	Canada / N.Ireland	22/5 /95	Mon	16.34	129	93	91	28	45	50	79	27	42	48
Canada Cup	Chile / N.Ireland	25/5 /95	Thu	24.00	120	37	36	19	25	20	25	17	19	9
Canada Cup	Canada / Chile	28/5 /95	Sun	17.17	82	140	127	42	89	86	100	31	72	66

APPENDIX B

TSN AUDIENCE FIGURES - SOCCER SUMMER 1995

Game Reach

Program	Episode	Date	Day	Time (ET)	Normal Duration	Total 2+ 000s	Total 18+ 000s	Total 18-34 000s	Total 18-49 000s	Total 25-54 000s	Total Male 18+ 000s	Total Male 18-34 000s	Total Male 18-49 000s	Total Male 25-54 000s
Canada Cup	Canada / N.Ireland	22/5 /95	Mon	16.34	129	579	524	199	350	283	400	150	274	234
Canada Cup	Chile / N.Ireland	25/5 /95	Thu	24.00	120	364	342	188	262	224	246	146	195	147
Canada Cup	Canada / Chile	28/5 /95	Sun	17.17	82	642	579	254	400	379	412	185	297	270

APPENDIX C - LIST OF INTERVIEW DATES, TIMES AND LOCATIONS

25th May 1995 - Westin Hotel, Private Room, Edmonton, 6pm - 7.25pm.

Formal Interview

Director, Canada Cup of Soccer

Producer, Canada Cup of Soccer

Associate Producer, Canada Cup of Soccer

Play-By-Play Commentator (joined 6.50pm), Canada Cup of Soccer

Expert Commentator (joined 6.50pm), Canada Cup of Soccer

Westin Hotel, Bar, Edmonton, 7.30pm - 9.00pm.

Informal Interview

Play-By-Play Commentator, Canada Cup of Soccer

Expert Commentator, Canada Cup of Soccer

28th May 1995 - Commonwealth Stadium, Edmonton, 12.00pm - 4.00pm.

Informal Interviews

Technical Director, Canada Cup of Soccer

Producer, Canada Cup of Soccer

Floor Director, Canada, Cup of Soccer

Camera Operators (2 & 4), Canada Cup of Soccer

3rd November 1995 - TSN Head Office - Toronto, 11.00am - 12.00pm.

Formal Interview

Executive Producer (Head of Programming), TSN.

7th November 1995 - TSN Head Office - Toronto, 12.00pm - 2.15pm.

Formal Interviews

Producer, Canada Cup of Soccer

Director, Canada Cup of Soccer